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THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN MARRIAGE

A SOCIOLOGY OF SEXUAL RELATIONS

By F. MÜLLER-LYER

Translated by
Isabella C. Wigglesworth

NEW YORK
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

ALTHOUGH Müller-Lyer published *Phasen der Liebe* in 1913, the book contains so much of value for the present day that I have thought it worthy of translating for the English-speaking public sixteen years later.

So many books on marriage leave one with a feeling of chaos that it is important to examine any document undertaking the discovery of order by searching for underlying tendencies.

The author emphasizes the necessity of taking the evolutionary point of view, and sees in militant feminism, which teaches emulation of men, a phase which will pass as women come to make their own peculiar spiritual contribution to civilization as men have done. Perhaps this will come the sooner, he suggests, if women will regard themselves as the equivalents and not as the equals of men.

Müller-Lyer maintains that complete economic independence of women is necessary. We believe he means by this that each partner should feel the responsibility of contributing to the marriage "real" wages in the best economic sense, and not that an attempt should be made to match dollar for dollar.

Whether we agree with our author's thesis or not, his work is valuable for its superb documentary evidence, so often lacking in sociological work. The intelligent public will want the material upon which the author has based his conclusions, as well as the interpretations of an expert.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,
February 1929

PREFACE

Of a series which I propose to call *Die Entwicklungsstufen der Menschheit*, there have appeared to date, *Der Sinn des Lebens*, *Phasen der Kultur*, *Formen der Ehe*, and *Die Familie*. These, with the present volume and the ensuing ones, will, it is hoped, constitute a unified systematic sociology[1] (cf. the general plan at the end of the book). However, each book is an entity in itself, and should be comprehensible without reference to the others. The present volume, *The Evolution of Modern Marriage*, then, is closely connected with the last two volumes on geneonomy, but is so planned that it will require only a short introduction.

By *Geneonomy* we understand the sum of all those expressions of social life that have reference to the preservation of the species, i.e. all those manifestations that have for their purpose the compensation of passing generations by future ones or are directly connected with it. As we have stated elsewhere, these are in outline form[2]:—

A. THE SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP (i.e. the relations between man and woman); in particular—

1. Love.
2. Motives for Marriage.
3. Obtaining Wives.
4. Marriage.
5. Social Position of Woman.

B. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GENERATIONS (i.e. the relations between parents and children, or, more generally, between the older and younger generation).

1. Family.
2. Natural Selection.
3. Education.
4. Inheritance.
5. Social Position of Old Age.

---

[1] In the meantime another has appeared under the title *Zähmung der Nornen.*

[2] *Formen der Ehe, der Familie und der Verwandtschaft*, chap. ii; *Einteilung des Gesämten Gebietes der Geneonomie.*

C. CLAN RELATIONS.

1. Clan. 2. Consanguinity Systems.
3. Marriage Regulations.

In the preceding book (*Die Familie*) we have reviewed all these geneonomical manifestations, and have divided the stages of their evolution in the following manner:—

1. Clan Epoch: where human society is built upon the principle of common ancestry, of blood relationship, whose prototype is the clan. This epoch again falls into three phases: in the *early clan phase* the clan gradually reached its greatest differentiation; in the *high clan phase* it flourished to the greatest extent; in the *late clan phase* the clan, which up to now had been the foundation of society, gradually disintegrated as a result of a great evolutionary upheaval that led into

2. The Family Epoch.—In this reorganization the clan was split up into the individual families that it had previously held together: the family now assumes the clan's economic functions, while a new element, the state, assumes the clan's political responsibilities and becomes increasingly powerful. As in the tribal epoch, the family epoch also falls into three phases—its rise, the *early family phase*; its flower, the *high family phase*; and its decline, the *late family phase*, which coincides with the rise of capitalistic production.

Unless present indications deceive us, we stand to-day at the threshold of a new *epochal* transition, an epoch wherein the individual, the personality, comes to the fore, and which is hence called

3. The Individual or Personal Epoch.—Of this epoch we can know only the first beginnings, namely, the early personal phase that has begun with the differentiation of women.

Obviously, more than one principle of organization existed at any one time during these different epochs; we mean to indicate merely that in the first epoch the clan, in the second the family, and in the third the individual, is to be considered as more dominant than both the others.

Since in the preceding book we have demonstrated this threefold system for the entire course of geneonomy, it is now our purpose to divide the whole into its component parts, and to show that the same important three-step law can be seen in each individual field. And here we will consider the field of sexual relationships which we have further subdivided into love, motives for marriage, obtaining wives, marriage, social position of woman. It must once more be emphasized that such an outline has nothing to do with detailed historical descriptions and reports, but with the results of a search in such material for tendencies and trends so that we may trace the directional lines of the progress of civilization and seek to discover laws of evolution.

MUNICH,
April 1913

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE present second edition appears unchanged after the death of the author. I have only indicated where necessary the other works of my husband that have appeared in the meantime.

BETTY MÜLLER-LYER

MUNICH,
June 1917

CONTENTS

I

DIVISION OF PARTICULAR CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER I

TRANSFORMATION OF THE LOVE EMOTION

INTRODUCTION: MUTABILITY OF THE LOVE EMOTION

EPOCH I: PRIMITIVE LOVE

(i) Lack of Sexual Jealousy, 26

Wife-Lending, 26. Westermarck's Conception, 28. Exchange of Women, Sharing and Renting the Wife, 29. Defloration Customs, 32. Feast Promiscuity, Holy Orgies, 33. Lack of Jealousy in Women, 34

(ii) Lack of Chastity, 35

Promiscuity among the Unmarried, 35. Prostitution Honoured, 37. Sexual Perversions among Nature Peoples, 37

(iii) Primitive Lack of Sexual Modesty, 38

Naked Peoples, 39. Rise of Modesty, 41

(iv) Indifference to the Reality of Fatherhood, or, rather, Parenthood, 43

Marriages by Natural Selection, 43. The Levirate, 44. Adoption, 46

(v) Lack of Romantic Love, 48

Among Indians, 49. Australian Negroes, etc., 49

(vi) Polygamous Inclinations, 51

(vii) Summary, 52

The Sexual-biological Foundation of Man, 52. Ontogenetical proof, 53

Epoch II: FAMILY EPOCH

The Secondary Feelings of Love, 54

Gradual Transition, 54. Modesty among Civilized People, 55. Chastity, 56. Prostitution in the Middle Ages, 57. First Appearance of Romantic Love, in Greece, China, India, etc., 59. Minnesingers, 61. Degeneration of Chivalry, 62. Marriage as a Family Attribute, 64

Causes of the Rise of the Secondary Emotions, 66

Rise of Sexual Jealousy, 66. Purchase-Marriage, 66. Child-Betrothal, 67. Differentiation among Men, 68. Political Influence, 68. Religious Influence, 69. Refinement of Emotional Life, 69. Physical Disgust, 69. The Desire for Æsthetic Pleasure, 70. Rise of Sexual Modesty and the Valuation of True Parenthood, 71.

Inferiority of Woman in the Family Epoch, 72

Relations between Man and Woman in the Family Epoch, 73. Ideas of Woman in Classical Antiquity, 74. In Christendom, 76. In Shakespeare, Goethe, 78. Reasons for the Low Position of Woman, 80

Review of the Family Epoch, 81

Summary, 81

Importance of Reversions, 82

Epoch III: PERSONAL EPOCH

Transition from the Family to the Personal Epoch, 84

Causes of the Transformation of the Love Emotion, 85

Capitalism, 85. Decline of the Family, 85. Change from the Military to the Industrial State, 86. Differentiation of Women, 86. Decline of the Birth-rate, 87. Refinement of the Emotions, 88. Agamy, 89

Geneonomic Revaluations in Our Own Times, 90

Equal Rights and Sexual Differences, 90. Feminine Attributes, 92. Conception of the Lady, 92. Gallantry, 93. Legal Position of Woman, 93. Miss and Mrs., 94. Family Names of Women, 94. Double Sexual Moral

Standard, 95. Spiritual Gulf between Husband and Wife, 95. Spiritual Bonds, 96. Conception of Prostitution, 96. Marriage as a Personal Matter, 97. The Flirtation, 97. Education for Marriage, 98. Wedding Celebrations, 98. Solubility of Marriage, 99. Interests of the Children, 100. The Illegitimate Child, 100. The Widow, 101. Prudery, 101. Valuation of the Sexual Life, 101. Rise of Individual Emotions of Love, 103. Influence of Abstinence, 104. Influence of Dress, 105. History of the Kiss, 107. Separation of Love from Economy, 108. Godwinian Marriages, 109. Lack of Privacy, 109. The Testimony of Literature and Science, 109

REVIEW AND SUMMARY, 110

CHAPTER II

CHANGES IN THE MOTIVE FOR MARRIAGE

INTRODUCTION: THE MOST IMPORTANT MOTIVES FOR MARRIAGE

I. PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE MOTIVES IN THE FIRST EPOCH, 112

The Labour of Woman, 112. Economic Character of Primitive Marriage, 113. Value of Children, 114

II. MOTIVES FOR MARRIAGE IN THE SECOND EPOCH, 115

Legitimate Heirs, 116. Ancestor Worship, 116

III. MOTIVES FOR MARRIAGE IN THE THIRD EPOCH, 116

Individual Love, 116. Value of Descendants, 116. Economic Value of Woman, 117.

SUMMARY, 117

CHAPTER III

METHODS OF OBTAINING A WIFE

INTRODUCTION:

Definitions, 118. The Different Forms of Marriage, 118

EPOCH I: VARIETY OF FORMS

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE, 119

Examples of Obtaining a Wife by Capture, 120. Symbols of Capture Remaining in Wedding Customs, 121. Incorrect Explanations of These, 122. Other Relics of the Time of Marriage by Capture, 122

EXCHANGE-MARRIAGE, 122

SERVICE-MARRIAGE, 123

Service-Marriage and Mother-Right, 124

EPOCH II: PURCHASE- AND DOWRY-MARRIAGE

(*a*) PURCHASE-MARRIAGE, 124

Rise, 124. Examples, 125. The Price of a Bride among Different Peoples, 125. Rise of the Word "heiraten", 126. Market-Marriage, 126

(*b*) DOWRY-MARRIAGE, 127

Rise, 127. Three Transition Phases, 128. Money-Marriage, 128

EPOCH III: MARRIAGE OF INCLINATION, OR LOVE-MARRIAGE

Rise, 129. Chronological Results of Money-Marriage and Marriage of Inclination, 130. Review of the Three Epochs, 130. The Evolutionary Lines, 130

CHAPTER IV

PHASES OF MARRIAGE

ANTIQUITY

Importance and Duration of Antiquity, 131. Divergence in the Ideas of Geneonomic Conditions in Antiquity, 132. Grounds for a Primeval Monogamy, 133. Grounds Against It, 135. Social Propensities of Man, 136. Polygamous Inclinations, 136. View of Ancient Peoples Still in Existence, 137. Promiscuity, Group-Marriage, Polyandry, 143. Morgan's System of Consanguinity, 143. Importance of Group-Marriage and Polyandry, 145

EARLY CLAN PHASE

Representatives, 146. Everywhere Individual Marriages and Individual Families, 147. Monogamous Peoples, 147. Polygyny, Loose Marriages, 148. Woman as Beast of Burden and Slave, 149. Marital Fidelity, 150. Patriarchal Character of Love, 152. Economic Reasons for Primitive Marriage, 153. Primitive Marriage as an Economic Arrangement, 153. Critique on the Foundation of Marriage, 154

HIGH CLAN PHASE

Lowest Agriculturalists, 155. Honoured Position of Women, 156. Mother-Right (Matriarchy), 156. Reasons for Mother-Right, 156. Service-Marriage, 156. Avunculacy, 156. Flower of the Clan, 156. Weakening of the Family, 157. High Clan Phase Among Fisher-Folk, 157

LATE CLAN PHASE

Decline of the Clan, 158. Collapse of Mother-Right, 159. Higher Agriculturalists, 159. Pastoral Peoples, 159. Purchase-Marriage, 159. Father-Right (Patriarchal Marriage), 160. Polygamy, 160

EARLY FAMILY PHASE

Downfall of the Clan, 160. Rise of the State, 160. Rise of the Family, 160

HIGH FAMILY PHASE

Boundary between Pre-Historical and Historical Phase, 161. State, Domination, 161. Power of the Family Patriarch, 161. Permanent Monogamy, 161. Relics of Earlier Stages, 162. Forms of Marriage in the Ancient Orient, 162. Growing Tendency to Monogamy, 164. Causes of Permanent Monogamy, 165; Interest of the State, 166. Disadvantages of Polygamy, 166. Introduction of Slavery, 166. Secondary Feelings, 167

LATE FAMILY PHASE

Decline of the Family, 167. Capitalistic Organization, 168. Transition of the Military State to the Labour State, 168. Differentiation of Women, 168. Introduction of Divorce, 169. Increase in Divorces, 169. Masculine Domination and Equal Rights, 169. Right of Woman Suffrage, 169

EARLY PERSONAL PHASE

Influence of Economics, 170

LINES OF DIRECTION:

I. The Woman Movement, 170. A Lawful Progression, 170. Law of the Division of Labour, 171. Need of Division of Labour, 172

II. Decline of the Family, 172. Co-operative Housekeeping as an Economic Necessity, 172. Profession and Marriage, 173

III. Individualism and Personalism, 173. Conception of Individualism, 173. Opposition between Individualism and Preservation of the Species, 173. Neo-Malthusianism, 173

MARRIAGE REFORMS:

Equality of Both Sexes, 174. Pure, Soluble Monogamy (Hagnochoristy), 174. Difference between Soluble Monogamy and Syndyasmy, 175. Free Marriage, 175. Views of Ellen Key, Forel, Letourneau, Spencer, 176, Advantages and Disadvantages of Free Marriage, 177. Economic Conditions for Free Marriage, 179. Education for Marriage, 179

MARRIAGE AND EUGENICS:

Darwin, Galton, Ibsen, Zola, Neitzsche, 180. Errors of the Past, 180. Christianity, 180. Quantitative Increase and Qualitative Betterment of the Race, 181. Conditions Changed by Capitalism, Hygiene, World Trade, etc., 182. Present Conditions, 182. Suppression of Natural Selection, 182. Artificial Selection, 183. Ideal of Artificial Selection, 183. Selection and Monogamy, 183. Selection and Pologamy, 183. Selection and Free Love, 184. Positive and Prophylactic Selection, 184. Hindrances, 184. Education of Public Opinion, 185. Legal Demands and Punishments, 185. Selection and Differentiation of Women, 185. Co-operative Housekeeping and Sexual Selection, 185. Conclusion: Eugenics as the Pivot of the New Sexual Morality, 186

CHAPTER V

PHASES OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN AND THEIR CAUSES

(A) GENERAL REVIEW OF THE PHASES OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Antiquity, 187. Early Clan Phase, 188. High Clan Phase, 188. Late Clan Phase, 189. Early Family Phase, 189. High Family Phase, 189. Late Family Phase, 190. Early Personal Phase, 190. Society, Family, and Woman, 190. Opposition between the Family on One Side and Society and Woman on the Other, 191. Proofs, 191. The Position of Woman and the Geneonomic Epochs, 191. Graphic Exposition, 193

(B) GENERAL CAUSES GOVERNING THE POSITION OF WOMEN

1. Economic Value of Woman, 194
2. Similarity of Occupation, 194
3. War and Industry, 195
4. Wealth, 199
5. Moral Sentiments, 199
6. Numerical Relation of the Sexes, 199
7. Form of Marriage, 200

Polygamy, Polyandry, Monogamy, 200. Exchange-Marriage, 200. Purchase-Marriage, Service-Marriage, Dowry-Marriage, 200

8. Religion and Law, 200

(C) THE OUTLOOK: THE ONLY DIRECTIONAL LINES

Association of Labour, 201. Differentiation of Women, 201. Future of the Woman Movement, 202. Equality of Man's and Woman's Work, 203. Transition of the Military to the Labour State, 203. Political Equality,

203. Increasing Wealth and Growing Democracy, 203. Refinement of Morals, 204. Decrease of the Numerical Majority of Women, 204. Dissolubility of Marriage, 204. Repudiation of Dogmatic Religious Beliefs, 205.

SUMMARY, 205

CHAPTER VI

ON THE PLIABILITY OF SEXUAL MORALITY

Introduction, 206. Inexplicable Individual Cases, 206. Variety of Sexual Customs among Peoples Living under the Same Conditions, 206. Examples, 206. Conception of "pliability", 206. Transformations in Sexual Morality up to the Present Time, 207. Examples: Italy in the sixteenth, France in the Eighteenth Century, 207. American Feminism, 209. Change in the Conception of Prostitution, 209. Pliability and Sexual Perversion, 210. Psychological Reasons of Pliability, 210. Pliability and Secondary Sexual Feelings, 210. Deeper Significance of Pliability, 210. Fanaticism in Sexual Morality, 211. Its Importance, 211

II

DIVISION OF GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER VII

THE METHOD OF PHASES AND DIRECTIONAL LINES

Science and Prophecy, 215. Sociological Prediction, 216. Moderate and Radical Marxism, 217. The Phasal Method or the Method of Directional Lines, 219. Phases, Lines, and Laws of Direction, 221. Interfunctional Laws, 222. Advantages of the Phasal Method, 223. Predictions based on the Phasal Method, 225

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIRECTIONAL LINES IN THE EVOLUTION OF SEXUAL RELATIONS

Introduction: The Phasal Method applied to the Evolution of Sexual Relations, 227. Particular Difficulties, 228

(A) ECONOMIC DIRECTIONAL LINES

Influence of Economics on Geneonomy, 230. The Law of Union of Labour and the Law of Geneonomic Evolution, 230

(B) PSYCHOLOGICAL DIRECTIONAL LINES

The Human Will, 231. Inner Psychological Laws, 231. From Instinctive to Willed Action, 231. Reflex and Instinct, 232. Growing Spiritualization of the Sexual Life, 234

(i) PRIMITIVE LOVE, 232

Indifference to Fatherhood, 233. Mother-Love, 233. Sexual Modesty, 233. Chastity, 233. Sexual Jealousy, 234. Jealousy of Possession, 234. Antagonism between Man and Woman and Primitive Marriage, 234. Original Instinct and Advancing Conscious Valuation, 234

(ii) FAMILY EPOCH, 234

Psychology of Sexual Jealousy, 235. Influence of the Feeling of Disgust, 235. Woman's Ability to Choose, 235. Jealousy and Descendants, 235. Prizing of Chastity, 235. Psychology of Romantic Love, 236 Æsthetic Emotions, 236. Moral Emotions, 236. Woman as Subject and Object, 236. General and Individual Love, 236. Modesty and Æsthetics, 259. Feminine Instinct of Shyness, 236. Influence of Dress, 237. Family Epoch a Period of Force, 237

(iii) INDIVIDUAL OR PERSONAL EPOCH, 237

Antagonism between Man and Woman, 238. History of the Struggle, 238. Separation of Love from Economy, 238. Interdependency of Economics and Geneonomy, 238. Awakening of Self-Consciousness in Woman, 239.

"Feeling Into" in Man, 239. Extending the Scope of the Imagination to Children, 239. "Rationalization" of the Sexual Life, 239. The Child as Subject, 240. The Ideas of Eugenics, 240. Law of Conscious Valuation, the Growing Rationalization of Human Activity, 240. Causal Comprehension of the Law, 241. Intellectual and Moral Advance, 241. The World, Will, and Intellect, 242. Theories of Progress, 242. Obstacles to Future Growth, 243. Activism, 243

I

DIVISION OF PARTICULAR CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER I

TRANSFORMATION OF THE LOVE EMOTION

THERE is a widespread belief that the emotions which civilized man groups together under the term "sexual love" have been and are an immutable aspect of the human psyche.

Nothing can be more erroneous than such an idea. The emotions accompanying the mutual attraction between man and woman, like everything else in the world, have their history. The evolutionary steps in this particular realm are so varied that the civilized man who would understand the love of the savage must completely set aside the ideas taught by his own time.

This truth will be perfectly clear to us when we inquire into it more minutely and follow sexual habits and customs phase by phase, from the lowest steps of civilization to our own day. We shall then see that the whole development of love up to the present time can be divided into three great periods, all fundamentally different. These are:—

I. A period of *primitive love*, in which the simple animal characteristics of the emotion are blatantly present.
II. A period of *family love*, in which the secondary (spiritual) side becomes important, and wherein man is the master and moulds woman to his will. And
III. A period of *personal love*, in which woman awakens slowly to independence, becomes a personality, and gives love a new character.

Let us first consider the

I. EPOCH OF PRIMITIVE LOVE

Sexual jealousy, a high esteem for chastity, sexual modesty, and the tendency to fall passionately in love with a single object (so-called "romantic love"), are such common and distinctive characteristics of civilized man, that not only laymen but frequently psychologists and naturalists take them to be inherent in man and inseparably united to his character. Nevertheless, these emotions are foreign to many primitive peoples. They have arisen in the course of the evolution of civilization, and have been built up slowly and gradually as secondary characteristics under the influence of definite social conditions.

If we begin with

(i) SEXUAL JEALOUSY,

the following customs show that it is unknown to many primitive peoples. Much the most familiar of these primitive customs is the lending of the wife to the guest. It is a common habit among primitives to offer a woman to the guest, especially the wife or daughter of the host: a refusal is considered an insult.

This custom is (or was) the rule through all North America, also in South America, in the Oceanides, among the Polynesians, Micronesians, and Melanesians, and among the Eskimos, Aleuts, Samoyeds, Kamtchadels, Chukchus, Mongols, and Tartars, in Ceylon and in Southern India, among many African tribes, in the Congo—the Kaffirs, Bedouins, and Abyssinians—in equatorial Africa, and among the native Australians, etc.[1]

Of the Sandwich Islands Bechtinger[2] relates: "Acquaintances on visiting used to be formally invited to make use of one another's hospitality in the fullest sense of the word, and women were exchanged. It would have been a great offence had this invitation not been accepted. If an Islander came thither without his wife, he was free to choose whether he would take his friend's wife or his grown daughter." The contrast between civilized and primitive man is particularly poignant in the following story from Dodge.[1] "Among the Brulé Sioux one of the duties of hospitality consists in providing with a woman the guest whom the host wishes particularly to honour. A civilian doctor who had a very attractive wife, but was himself a worthless sort of person, made use of this hospitality at the home of the Chief, 'Spotted Tail', but he was not a little put out when the chief one evening requested the same favour from him."

---

[1] For specific accounts see Post, *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, i. 28; Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, ii. 265. Many other examples may be found in Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvolker*; Spencer's *Sociology*; Ploss, *Das Weib, in der Volkerkunde*, etc.

[2] *Ein Jahr auf den Sandwichinseln.*

We also find traces of this old habit, which Chamisso designates as "pure unspoilt custom",[2] in histories of peoples who are far from primitive. According to Ibn al Moghawir, in Dhaban, the guest is offered the host's wife to kiss and embrace, but he would have been stabbed had he allowed himself further liberties; however, in another group of the same country the wife of the host was placed entirely at the disposal of the guest.[3]

With the Germans old custom demanded "that the hostess should lead the guest to his bed and see to it that he was provided for in every appropriate way". In remote antiquity the guest shared the connubial couch of his host. Even in the beginning of the sixteenth century Thomas Murner relates that in the Netherlands the host of a cherished guest "gives him his wife in full confidence".[4] "Maidens help the master as they do each guest in dressing and undressing; they not only prepare his bath, but they also pass him his linen and dry his limbs."[5] And in North Germany the bed of even the wife or daughter was offered the stranger.[6] In Rigsthula it is said that the god Heimdall once wandered over the earth and visited the serf (Thraell), the free peasant (Karl), and the noble (Jarl). He slept three nights with each host and hostess, and after nine months the wives gave birth to three sons, who became the ancestors of all serfs, all freemen, and all nobles.[1] Also among the Homeric Greeks it was well known to be the duty of the maidens, and even of the king's daughter, to bathe the guest and to anoint him with oil,[2] which perhaps may be a modification of the ancient custom of wife-lending.

---

[1] *The Far Western Plains.*

[2] Chamisso, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1836, i. 217.

[3] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 277.

[4] Weinhold, *Die deutsche Frau im Mittelalter*, 3rd ed., ii. 189 ff.

[5] v. Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhofe*, i. 204.

[6] Weinhold, *loc. cit.*

From the above data we must conclude that primitive man is quite different from civilized man in love matters, and this difference lies in the fact that primitive man does not seem to have sexual jealousy.

These conclusions have been contradicted[3] on the grounds that among most of these peoples whom we have mentioned, and especially among the majority of primitives,[4] adultery by no means goes unpunished, that, on the contrary, the husband "jealously" watches to see that his wife be not seduced behind his back or against his will, etc., and that consequently it would be incorrect to maintain that primitive man does not know sexual jealousy.

This difference is based on the confusion arising from the various meanings denoted by the word "jealousy". In the first place, it can be used in a general way; for example, when we say that dogs are jealous of each other in bidding for their master's favour, we clearly cannot be speaking of sexual jealousy. That this ordinary jealousy which finds expression principally in relation to position or standing is also inherent in man, is shown quite plainly in the attitude of children, who become tremendously angry if another is preferred unjustly by the teacher or mother. Secondly, we use the word in another special sense denoting erotic or sexual jealousy which is particularly directed against everything which can or could lead to the beloved object's having sexual relations with another.

A primitive man can thus be very jealous of his wife in the ordinary sense and nevertheless have no idea of the pangs of a jealousy particularly sexual or erotic. Psychologically, pure jealousy of possession is generally not a sexual impulse, but rather is simply an extension of man's inherent sense of his *personal property* to include women. So we shall have to return later to more details on the origin of sexual jealousy in the chapter on marriage.

---

[1] Weinhold, *Ebenda.*

[2] Cf. *Odyssey*, iii. 464.

[3] *Westermarck*, pp. 56, 127.

[4] Cf. also Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, ii. 73, No. 2, 75.

If we now examine the previously mentioned instances in the light of this plain specific difference, it will be very clear to us that wife-lending and punishment for adultery can exist side by side. For instance, an Australian "jealously" guards his wife, severely punishes adultery, and also tries to prevent the advances of other men. This is because he thinks of his wife as a thing, a slave, a possession, which, like any other piece of property, must be kept from being misused without the master's knowledge and consent or from being carried off, which happens often enough. He resents the abuse of his property because his right of ownership is infringed and he feels himself insulted. But when this same Australian willingly places his wife at the disposal of his guest, we must truly say that he knows jealousy of possession (as does every higher animal), but that erotic or sexual jealousy is foreign to him. It is thus easy to see why primitive man usually punishes adultery when it happens against his will, but favours it when he wishes to do a passing kindness for his guests or friends, or to show them honour.

But besides wife-lending, there is still a whole collection of manners and customs which likewise show that sexual jealousy is not a part of primitive sexuality. To this class belong "sharing the wife", group marriage, and polyandry, occasional "exchange of wives", hiring out of the wife, etc. We give here only a few examples of each of these customs.

"Sharing the wife" consists in a man letting another permanently participate in his marriage under certain circumstances. For example, among the native Australians it was often the custom for the "older brothers to surrender their wives to the use of the younger who were not yet married.

But for this complaisance it was well understood that when the latter married, the elders in their turn would be permitted the same liberty".[1]

Many authorities consider this practice a relic of the above mentioned group marriages, which, like polyandry, clearly prove the error of sexual jealousy. On examination of other authorities,[2] we find that among many peoples there are forms of marriage in which one man does not marry one woman, but several men marry several wives at the same time (group marriage), or several men marry one woman (polyandry). In these polygamous marriages, which eminent sociologists consider were widespread in prehistoric time, there is no trace of either sexual jealousy or repugnance. This is remarkable when we consider that under polyandry as practised in Tibet and Ceylon, etc., a number of brothers very often have marriage relations with one and the same woman. For instance, Ujfalvy says that in Kululand, where from four to six men (even brothers) are married to a single woman, they live in the "most perfect harmony. The children speak of an older and younger father, and as soon as a husband sees the shoes of one of his brothers outside the marital apartment, he knows that he must not enter".[3] So too in the group marriages of the ancient Britons which Cæsar described relatives were married to a number of common wives.

Among many primitive peoples men occasionally exchange their wives in order to take them back again. The Australians in Victoria, for example, "interchange their wives for a definite time". They call this custom Beama. There are cases in which this exchange lasts a month.[4] 'It is a mark of friendship among the Eskimos for two men to interchange wives for a day or two." [5] According to Lichtenstein[6] a Bushman's wife may give herself to anyone if she has obtained permission from her husband to do so. Admiral Wrangell's observations of the upper Californian Indians show that husbands took no offence if their wives had relations with other men of their own family, but would be jealous if the adulterer belonged to a neighbouring tribe.[1]

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[1] Cunow, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisationen der Australneger*, p. 69.

[2] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*, pp. 17–45.

[3] *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya*, Erlebnisse und Forschungen, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 35 f.

[4] *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1882, p. 376.

[5] Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 265.

[6] *Travels in Southern Africa*, London, 1812–15, ii. 348.

Another aspect that belongs here is the practice of hiring out wives, that is to say, prostituting them for pay. H. Hecquard[2] says of the M'pongos (in Gabun) that they are always ready to make over their wives to the first comer, in fact to offer them to him. They rented their wives to Europeans for a slight consideration, and treated as their own the children resulting from such fleeting alliances. According to Compiègne[3] the Gabonese break down their wives' resistance to a paying lover with the Kassingo (a scourge made from hippopotamus hide). It is said of the Galla that they are very "jealous". If a man so much as passes by a neighbour's hut from time to time to look at or speak to the wives he incurs the wrath of the jealous husband; but on paying for the privilege the rival is free to enter the house.[4] These customs are based on the underlying attitude that the wife is the husband's property, and at his discretion can be applied to his use or profit.

The following examples show that sexual jealousy was not developed in ancient times to the same degree that it is with modern people. In regard to community of wives and children, Plutarch[5] writes of Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius that they both sought to banish jealousy from marriage, according to wise political principles. But they went about it in slightly different ways. If a Roman husband had enough children he could transfer his wife to another man who desired children, since he had the right to give her away and take her back. In

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[1] Giraud-Teulon, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[2] *Voyage sur la Côte et dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale*, Paris, 1853, p. 20.

[3] *L'Afrique equatoriale*, Paris, 1875, p. 192.

[4] Paulitschke, *Ph. Ethnographie Nordostafrikas. Die materielle Kultur der Danakil, Galla, und Somal*, Berlin, 1893, p. 204.

[5] Lycurgus and Numa, 3.

Sparta, on the other hand, the husband allowed the enjoyment of his wife to anyone who asked him, provided he stayed in his house and the first marriage still held. In fact, many men begged others to take their places, and even led them to their wives, from whom they promised them good and handsome children. The following anecdote from Demosthenes is characteristic: "A controversy over the ownership of a hetaira in Athens was *rightly* decided by letting each one have her every other day."[1] Also Grimm[2] says of the ancient Germans that the man who is unable to beget children lets another take his place—a custom of which Luther is known to have expressed approval, and not alone for the sake of begetting children.

A striking example of the lack of sexual jealousy is found in the custom of "defloration" that has been observed among many peoples. According to this custom it is the duty of a third person to effect the defloration of the bride.[3] These third persons are frequently princes, as with the Guants of Palma and Gomers; or magicians and priests, as in Kambodska, with the Eskimos, Arowaks, etc. Sometimes it is again a friend of the bridegroom who enjoys a *jus primæ noctis*, as in Cuba or Nukahiwa. Among other peoples (Nasoma, Balearics, Mantas in Peru) the bride is obliged to give herself to her husband's relatives or even to all the wedding guests—a custom which is still found among the Southern Slavs and the Motzen Siebenburgens, although it is now only practised in symbolic form.[4] In Loango, on the Congo, and in Benguela the bride is offered as public property before her marriage. Among ancient peoples of the Near East (Babylon, Ephesus, Abydos, etc.), where the cult of Mylitta prevailed, the bride had to undergo at one time a religious prostitution in the temple of the goddess. In Troy it was customary for the bride to bathe in the Scamander before her wedding, thus symbolically giving her virginity to the god. Often the *naïveté* of the young maidens was taken advantage of by a youth impersonating the river god.[1] Scholars differ on the amount of importance they give to the defloration custom. Many think it might be a relic of a time of promiscuity kept up by the conservative power of religion and custom; others see in religious prostitution a method of drawing down the blessings of heaven on the marriage through contact with priests and magicians. In many cases, however, defloration was held to be an onerous task, and mothers (as in Pelau) or certain old women (Biscayas in the Philippines) were hired to attend to it.

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[1] Dollinger, *Heidentum und Judentum*, p. 684.

[2] *Deutsche Rechtsaltertumer*, 4th ed., i. 613–15.

[3] A collection of sources in Post, *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 24–6.

[4] Kohler, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Rechtswissensch*, vi. 398.

This last has certainly nothing to do with sexual jealousy, but there is another custom to be mentioned in this connection pertaining to the reconciliation of divorced couples. "If a Tartar wife wishes to return to her husband after a divorce, she must have spent at least one night with another man."[2] Also Islam requires a woman who wishes to be reunited to her husband after her third divorce to marry yet another man in due and proper form (an intermediate husband). Considered from the standpoint of sexual jealousy, the reconciliation under such circumstances could only give new grounds for divorce. An anecdote in Steller's *Kamchatka* may perhaps give the key to these curious customs. He says[3]: "If anyone wants to marry a widow, she must first sleep with another man, who may even receive a reward for it, the idea being that otherwise the second husband would also die."

Further, an ancient custom which is generally described as "feast promiscuity" has a certain relation to religious prostitution. Many peoples still have the habit of celebrating orgies at certain times of the year, especially the spring. At these orgies universal licence and unlimited intercourse hold sway. These customs have probably descended from a primitive mating season whose most recent traces may possibly be seen in our carnival, as I have suggested elsewhere.[4]

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[1] Becker, *Charikles*, iii. 303.

[2] Hahn, *Das Ausland*, Stuttgart, 1891, No. 29, p. 571.

[3] P. 346.

[4] *Formen der Ehe*, pp. 28–31.

Lack of Sexual Jealousy in Women

So far we have dealt especially with the behaviour of men in regard to sexual jealousy. We must now add that women have similar feelings, and that where the practice of polygamy is nationally established, sexual jealousy is just as foreign to them as to men; although, to be sure, much has been told of discord among women living polygamous lives. W. Winwood Reade[1] states that in equatorial Africa, where there is no word for jealousy in the language, the wives are the most ardent defenders of polygamy. He says: "If a man marries and his wife thinks that he can afford another spouse, she pesters him to marry again, and calls him a 'stingy fellow' if he declines to do so. These women live together, as far as I could judge, in great amity, but unite in cordially detesting their common husband." Sometimes the wife, if she is old or sterile, or if she is nursing a child, or the work is too heavy, brings a new wife to her husband. It is thus plainly to the advantage of the first wife to obtain a second, even though the latter is brought for the express purpose of supplanting her. Likewise we are familiar with stories of Zulu wives which tell that when one wife is alone she often works with the sweat of her brow and skimps herself to collect enough substance to enable her husband to afford a second wife. By this she not only gets rid of the work, but the woman she has given her husband becomes her servant, and thus she promotes the whole family to a position of gentility which reflects on her as first wife.[2] Livingstone says of the Makololo that when the women heard that in England a man could only marry one wife, they cried out that they would not live in such a country; they could not conceive how English ladies could relish such a custom, for to their way of thinking every respectable man should possess a number of wives as a sign of his wealth.[3] Cranz says the same of the Greenlanders; von Martius of the native Brazilians; Le Bon of the Arabs; von Siebold of the Ainus; Navarette of the Chinese; Rein of the Japanese, etc.[1] Neither did Leah show any jealousy when she brought her maid Zilpah to her husband Jacob, nor Rachel when she brought him Bilhah. Mohammedan women pity European wives, who must live at their husbands' sides alone and without companionship. "An enormous majority of Oriental women candidly adore their organizations, their harems, and speak favourably of polygamy —an almost universal manifestation where it is the custom of the people."[2] On the other hand, many reports tell of the misery of wives in polygamous marriages. The wife of a missionary in the Fiji Islands saw many women whose noses had been bitten or cut off by their fellow-wives out of hatred or jealousy.[3]

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[1] *Savage Africa*, 2nd ed., London, 1864, p. 259.

[2] Achelis, *Entw. der Ehe*, p. 91.

[3] *Neue Missionsreisen in Sudafrika*, i. 317.

Thus we conclude that sexual jealousy cannot be considered an elementary instinct common to all peoples, but a growth or a secondary characteristic; and hence it is also clear that under certain circumstances, as we shall see later, civilized man likewise can be without it.

(ii) CHASTITY

Chastity and sexual jealousy are in many respects correlated ideas. It is evident that where there is a lack of jealousy, chastity will not be prized as a virtue. Thus the above examples are also proofs that indifference to chastity is a characteristic trait of primitive sexuality. We give here some more direct proofs of this fact.

Promiscuity among the Unmarried[4]

Since in the epoch of primitive sexuality the chastity of the *married* woman was so little esteemed that she was given to the guests, etc., it will not be strange if even freer ideas obtained in regard to the sexual habits of *single* women. As a general thing, then, we can say that primitive people do not value virginity; yet we shall see that there are some who have learned to do so, and there are cases known where chastity is demanded of the unmarried woman while the married woman is allowed wide freedom. However, in general, single women among primitives do enjoy greater sexual liberty than the married. Dumont d'Urville[1] says of the Polynesians in Muhahiwa that their young girls visited his ship in great numbers, where they danced, joked, laughed, and gave themselves without hesitation to the sailors, bestowing their favours indiscriminately. Such great licence is now rare among primitives, although disregard of chastity is often encountered. We find it among peoples of different zones and in almost all parts of the world—in India, Oceania, Malay, Australia, among the Tartar-Mongols, Indian races, Africans, etc.[2]

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[1] Cf. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 497.

[2] Hellwald, *Menschl. Familie*, p. 429.

[3] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1868, i. 178.

[4] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*, pp. 21–7.

It is even found that among many peoples girls are accustomed to earn a dowry before marriage by their sexual relations. Herodotus tells that the people of Lydia prostituted their daughters in order to obtain a dowry. This continued until the girls, who had thus collected their portion, married. Also the ancient Mexicans sent their marriageable daughters around the country to earn their trousseaux by their love affairs. In the Pelau Islands the girls sell themselves to the male population before marriage, and even visit the young men's quarters in strange villages. Also among the Indians of Nicaragua the girls prostitute themselves to earn a dowry. And with the civilized Japanese, fathers in needy circumstances sometimes make over their daughters to a Yoshiwara (pleasure house) for a certain time, "which does not detract from the maiden's good reputation."[3]

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[1] *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Océanie*, Paris, 1842, p. 171.

[2] An abundant collection of sources in Post, *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, i. 22; Ploss, *Das Weib*, i. 388.

[3] Rein, *Japan nack Reisen und Studien*, i. 495. Also cf. the fascinating description of Pierre Loti, *Au Pays des Cyclades*.

Certain peoples go even a step farther in that they hold the virginity of a growing girl to be an actual disgrace, and consider it a special honour to have had many lovers before marriage. Thus, for instance, the Wobjags, the Chibcha in New Granada, see in the chastity of girls a sign that they are not ready to arouse love.[1] Hence the idea that they prefer to marry a girl who has already borne a child and thus given proof of her fertility.[2] Generally, however, in spite of this freedom, illegitimate pregnancies are looked upon with disfavour, are often considered shameful, and hence checked or legitimized by a later marriage.

Sexual Perversions

It is generally considered that sexual perversions are only met with among the highly civilized, and seem to appear among primitives merely in obscure forms. On the contrary, the view must be established that among a large number of primitives vices are to be observed which rank with those of Babylon and London. Not only in fertile countries, in the South Sea Islands, but also in so bleak a clime as Kamschatka, and even in ice-bound Arctic countries, we find sexual vice surpassed by no civilized peoples. It runs the whole gamut from shameless eroticism through masturbation, tribadism, pederasty, and sodomy to the most obscene perversions. Of the inhabitants of the island of Tahiti, which Bougainville has well named "La Nouvelle Cythère", the missionary Ellis asserts that, "despite the obvious softness of their existence, no branch of the human race was ever sunk in such bestial unrestraint and moral degradation as are these isolated people."[3] There even "the service of Venus" was quite public. "Among the bystanders were found women of position, and they were not contented to be merely spectators but instructed the girls (of only eleven or twelve years) how to behave, even when the novice did not seem to be in much need of advice."[1] (Further examples of this are to be found in Ploss, *Das Weib*, 5th ed., i. 415 ff.; W. Schneider, *Die Naturvolker*, i. 266; Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Times*, pp. 512, etc.)

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[1] Ploss, *op. cit.*, p. 388; Post, p. 23.

[2] Cf. Post, *op. cit.*

[3] William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 2nd ed., London, 1831, i. 97. Cf. also Bougainville, *Reise um die Welt in den Jahren*, 1766–9, from D. Franz, Leipzig, 1783, pp. 156 ff.

(iii) PRIMITIVE LACK OF SEXUAL MODESTY

Sexual modesty, as well as sexual jealousy, is supposed to be an inborn trait. "All people", says Montesquieu, "are unanimous in expressing their contempt of immodesty in women, for the very reason that it is the voice of nature in every one." Philosophers like von Hartmann and Tolstoy have thought of the feeling of sexual modesty as intimately connected with procreation itself, and so have attributed to it a deeply mystical but at the same time pessimistic significance. All ethnologists agree that this is quite incorrect, and proof has already been brought forward that sexual modesty is not inborn but a secondary characteristic which only developed in the later stages of cultural evolution. Therefore I will limit myself here to a recapitulation of the principal arguments.[2]

As we have said, among some peoples the absence of modesty is so marked that even the sexual act is consummated in the open. This was not only the case among the previously mentioned natives of Tahiti, but has been reported of other South Sea Islanders, also of the Petchnegroes, of the Malays in the Philippines, of some Indian races, of Massagetes, Etruscans, Ausers, etc.,[3] and of the Mesinokes, who, according to Xenophon, scandalized the soldiers of Cyrus by the openness of their embraces. Also the dances of such peoples are often of the most suggestive variety, serving as preliminaries, entered into for the express purpose of arousing passion.[4]

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[1] Cook's *First Voyage of Discovery*, code-book of Hawkesworth, ii. 126 ff.

[2] Cf., for example, Lippert, *Kulturgesch*, i. 18, 66, 433 ff.; Peschel, *Kulturgesch*, p. 174; Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvolker*, i. 375; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 187, etc.

[3] Cf. Ploss, *op. cit.*

[4] Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, pp. 27, 38.

Further, there is a great number of primitives among whom men as well as women go entirely nude without the slightest embarrassment. For instance, von den Steinen says of his Bakairi: "Our natives have no private parts of their bodies, they joke about them in word and picture with such freedom from prejudice that it would be silly to consider them improper. A man who wants to inform the stranger that he is the father of another, a woman who wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, seriously make themselves known as worthy and respectable parents by grasping the organs from which life springs as though it were the most instinctive and natural elucidation in the world".[1] Many writers condemn peoples who go naked and damn the natural nakedness of man because they themselves, being accustomed to covering, perceive in the lack of it an impure attraction. Granier de Cassignac, for instance, sees in it a "revolt against all customs".[2] As opposed to such narrow-mindedness one is anxious to hear more of what K. von den Steinen has to say about the Bakairi (p. 64). "After a quarter of an hour one is no longer consciously aware of this nakedness. Whenever one intentionally recalls it and asks himself whether the naked people, father, mother, and child, who innocently wander around there should be blamed or pitied on account of their shamelessness, one must either laugh at this wonder as at some unspeakable nonsense, or, on the other hand, object to it as to something pitiable. From the æsthetic standpoint, nudity has its pros and cons like any other fact; youth and strength often look attractive in their unrestricted movements, old age and sickness horrible in their decay. Our clothes seem to these good people as remarkable as their nakedness does to us—my shirt received the splendid name of 'back-house', I had a 'head-house', a 'leg-house'."

However, it would be quite false to regard as immodest in general peoples who do not know sexual modesty. Just as jealousy in general may be felt by certain people where sexual jealousy is not felt, so it is possible for modesty in general to be present where sexual modesty is not. Thus the Bakairi and many other primitives have their own kind of modesty which again seems strange to us Europeans; to eat before others is held to be most highly unbecoming and arouses intense embarrassment. "Etiquette demands that each one should eat turned away from the others." When von den Steinen held before them a piece of fish which he "delightedly wished to consume at once, they all sunk their heads, looked before them with an expression of painful embarrassment, or turned away". It was gently pointed out to him that he must eat alone. And perhaps that is just as reasonable a modesty as "bodily modesty". Certainly mastication and devouring of nourishment is never such a beautiful sight as the naked body can be.

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[1] *Zentralbrasilien*, pp. 190 ff.

[2] *Voyage aux Antilles* i. 131.

Among the savages that go entirely nude are many Australians, South Sea Islanders, Americans, Africans (for instance, the Bava of Zambesi, according to Livingstone), the Lutaka (according to Baker), the Dinka (according to Schweinfurt), the Djur, Schilluks, etc. Even the Eskimos, according to Kane, lay aside all their clothes in their subterranean dwellings. All these peoples find it no more shocking to go entirely nude than we do to expose our hands and faces.

Besides the peoples who do not know bodily modesty, we find others among the less civilized races to whom it is familiar. Man has said, for instance,[1] of the South Andamanese that whereas the women never appear without skirts and do not even take them off in front of other women, the men, on the other hand, while working, lay aside their skirts without the slightest embarrassment. He further notes that a neighbouring tribe of Andamanese, the Jarawa, go entirely nude.

While many Australian tribes go naked, according to Richard Semon, the "youths" among the natives of St. Joseph's River cover their parts with a kind of bag, which consists of closely braided net. Further east, as in Hula and Aroma, there is a strange custom that growing men should wear a band drawn between their legs and fastened to the girdle in front and behind, which binds the parts without covering them. It is unseemly for women to see them without it. Still further east, as at Milne Bay, there again appears a covering of wide fibre cords, which is fastened to the belt both back and front. The ungrown boys go entirely nude. The women and girls over the ages of eight or ten wear skirts of grass and cocoanut fibre which do not quite reach the knees.[1] These and other observations make it evident that modesty must have arisen in desultory and uncertain ways; at one time it affects only the women, at another, only a certain tribe, while a neighbouring tribe living under the same conditions remains free from it.

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[1] E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883.

That bodily modesty is primary and innate should appear untrue at the outset, since the natural state of man is plainly nakedness. But how has bodily modesty arisen? We have already seen elsewhere[2] that sexual modesty and bodily modesty in general have arisen particularly through the need of decoration and clothing; that is, from the custom of wearing clothing or decoration on different parts of the body, and thereby enhancing them in the eyes of others.[3] We find, according to the fashions of different peoples, a modesty about showing the face, foot, hair, legs, navel, etc. Mohammedan women, for example, will not show their faces; in many places a mother is not allowed to see her daughter after her twelfth year with

[1] Richard Semon, *Im Australischen Busch*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 354.

[2] See "Evolution of Clothes" in pp. 132 ff., *History of Social Development.*

[3] This view is not entirely shared by some authors. According to Havelock Ellis, women, at some point, began to transfer to the sex organs the feelings which they had come to develop in relation to the excretory organs, namely, fear, obstinacy, and disgust. This transfer of associations is comprehensible because of the proximity of the two systems. (Cf. Buschan in Moll's *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaft*, pp. 232 f.) This theory is right in that clothing is not an adequate reason for bodily modesty: it directs the innate sense of modesty in general to the body in particular. In later times the feeling of disgust will seem to have played a rôle in the beginnings of bodily modesty, but this is very questionable in regard to primitive man. Nevertheless, the influence of clothing is manifest.

uncovered face; and yet their transparent clothing allows everything else to be plainly revealed. Likewise the Fellaheen women in Egypt disrobe before men without shame, but never let them see their faces. Hottentots always wear (as do Jewish matrons) a cloth over their heads, and nothing will induce many of them to expose their hair to the sight of another. In Sama, in the Pelau Islands, the height of indecency is not the exposure of the sexual parts, but of the navel—with the Chinese it is the foot—they even regard it as scandalous so much as to speak of it. In Uganda any man exposing even an inch of his leg in the presence of the king was punished with death, while the serving-women stood around entirely nude. Among many tribes of Central Africa the women always wear a branch, which, however, covers them behind instead of in front, and should they accidentally lose this twig in company, they are overcome with embarrassment. To many Indian tribes it is the height of impropriety to appear before strangers unpainted. Among many primitives the men wear decorations of all kinds, and have a much more developed feeling of modesty than the women. People who go nude often consider clothes as something shocking, and when missionaries have forced clothes upon them they "were just as embarrassed as civilized people would be to leave them off" (Wallace). The Chinese find the tightened waists of European women most improper, considering them too near an approach to nudity; the Mohammedans wax indignant over the uncovered faces of our women, and, as Peschel says, "Were a god-fearing Mussulman from Ferghana present at our balls, did he but see the bare shoulders of our wives and daughters, the semi-embrace of our round dances, he would silently wonder at the forbearance of Allah in not having poured fire and brimstone upon this sinful, shameless race long ago".

From the above quotations it is evident that bodily modesty in general and sexual modesty in particular developed from the custom of wearing clothes or decorations. What appears to be a paradox—that the feeling of modesty has not called forth covering, but that the covering has produced the modesty—is thus entirely correct. Bodily modesty is directed towards those parts which for some reason, either for the sake of decoration or use, are commonly covered. Other reasons for modesty were added in the course of cultural development; moral ones, which showed that it is highly worth while to cultivate a feeling for monogamy; then æsthetic ones, and, finally, the ascetic Christian's dread of the flesh and body, of which we shall have to speak later.

Further contributions to the argument that modesty is not inborn in man but acquired, are that it is entirely lacking in children who must be taught to observe it, and also the ease with which it is abandoned and varied; attributes which are characteristic of all man's secondary feelings in contrast to his instincts. A lady who would be very much ashamed to go about on the street with bare feet or ungloved hands finds it no embarrassment to appear at a dance with uncovered bosom. Women who take air or sun baths cannot often raise their eyes at first, but after they have become accustomed to the exposure of their bodies, sit chatting with the others quite unconcerned.

Another characteristic of many primitives that has a great effect on their sexual feelings is—

(iv) INDIFFERENCE TO THE REALITY OF FATHERHOOD, OR RATHER PARENTHOOD[1]

The following facts plainly come from the examples already given. A man who lends his wife to guests, who gives over her defloration to another, shares her with friends, etc., cannot attach great importance to being himself the father of the children born to this wife. But since procreation and birth are widely separated in point of time, these phenomena may be traced back to carelessness and to the habit of thinking only of the moment so characteristic of primitives. There are a number of other manners and customs which show this fact to be quite indisputable.[1]

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[1] Cf. d'Annunzio's novel *L'Innocente.*

Cases have been reported where a husband purposely foisted procreation on to another, and yet the children thus obtained were treated as his own.[2] So we find among the Eskimos a custom which reminds us of the ancient Spartan one already quoted. According to Barthola, they are greatly pleased if the Angekol (priest or magician) has intercourse with their wives, because they think in this way they will obtain sons who will surpass all others.[3] Similar accounts are given of the Keiaz of Paropamisos.[4] Also among the Arabians a man wishing to have a noble descendant believes he can accomplish this by inviting another man to consort with his wife just after she has stopped menstruating. The husband then lives apart from his wife and does not touch her before it is clear that she has become pregnant by the invited guest.[5] In civilized times a similar procedure is followed by many peoples in the event of sterility. With the Jews, for example, Rachel was childless (Genesis xxx. 3–13), "and she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her, and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her. . . . And Bilhah conceived and bare Jacob a son. And Rachel said, God hath judged me and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore called she his name Dan".

The following are a number of other cases where procreation and parenthood cannot possibly be identical:—

In the levirate marriage of the old Jews a man was obliged to cohabit with the widow of his dead brother, any resulting progeny being regarded as children of the dead man.

"Among the Kaffirs an heir inherits the wife of his father or testator. The son does not touch his father's wife, but he can give her or rent her to other men, and the children resulting from such a procedure are looked upon as his property, as though they were those of the dead man".[1]

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[1] Details on marriage by natural selection in vol. vi of *Entwicklungstufen, Zahmung der Nornen*, i, first part: "Sociology of Selection".

[2] Cf. Starcke, *Primitive Familie*, p. 132.

[3] C. Bastholm, *Historike Efterretninger*, Copenhagen, 1803, p. 162.

[4] R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, London, 1859, ii. 246.

[5] G. A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern, aus dem Holl.* Leipzig, 1884, p. 26.

In the Indian Niyoga marriage, the wife of a childless man, even in the husband's lifetime, obtains children from his brother or next of kin which count as his own children.

If a divorced Marianese wife remarries, the second husband counts as the real father of the children she has had by her first husband.[2]

Among the Ossetes a man marries his six-year-old son to a grown girl and then begets children by his daughter-in-law, which count as the lawful children of his little son.[3] This so-called boy marriage is also found among the Indian Reddies.

Among the many peoples that Post[4] has compared, there is no legal difference made between children born in or out of wedlock.

These customs, which seem so strange to our minds, are made clear when we consider that the tie between parents, especially the father, and children is not conceived as one of blood but as one of *property*. The husband owns his wife's children even if they are begotten by another, since the woman belongs to him, exactly as (to use Napoleon's simile) everything which grows in a garden belongs to the owner of the garden, whether he or another has sowed the seed. From the primitive point of view the cases are similar.

Many authors have maintained that very backward primitives do not know the causative connections between copulation and conception, that they do not live together with the idea of begetting children, but rather from pleasure or instinct, and that hence primitive man can attach no great importance to fatherhood. Some even assert that such ignorance occurs among savages who are still living. Undoubtedly there must have been a time when man (or pre-man) understood no more than do animals about the connection between copulation and birth.[1] And likewise it is true that even to-day many people believe pregnancy can be brought about by sunbeams, or by touching plants, or by the sight of an animal the woman has met in the wood, and particularly by intercourse with supernatural beings like ghosts or gods. Especially widespread is the belief that women can become pregnant from the Totem animal (*Empfängnistotemismus*). And Reitzenstein's theory that adults as well as children believe the fable of the stork is undoubtedly a correct one.

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[1] Post, *Grundlagen*, p. 206.

[2] Freycinet, Part II, i. 476, acc. to Starcke, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[3] Haxthausen, ii. 23, acc. to Starcke, p. 167.

[4] *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, ii. 17.

Another habit very common to primitive peoples, and which also shows a certain indifference to parenthood, is exchange of children and adoption. Certainly all primitives display a great love and tenderness towards children, often even more than civilized peoples, and towards children not necessarily their own. E. H. Man[2] says that the South Andamanese were accustomed to exchange children among each other, so that it was a usual thing to find more adopted children than real ones in a family, also that both kinds were treated with the same affection. The parents, moreover, used to visit their children regularly. Post[3] and Lubbock[4] have collected a large number of similar cases. According to Mariner,[5] it is a prevalent custom in the Tonga Islands for the women to mother strange children and provide them with every comfort. This frequently happens even in the lifetime of the real mother, and in such a case the second mother is put on an equal footing with the first. The same custom prevails in Samoa, Marquesas, and other islands of the South Sea.[1]

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[1] On this interesting question cf. F. v. Reitzenstein, "Der Kausalzusammenhang zwischen Geschlechtsverkehr und Empfangnis in Glaube und Brauch der Natur-und Kulturvolker," *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, 41 Jahrg., 1909, p. 644; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909, 2 vols.; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iv. 61 ff.; Emil Goldmann, *Mitteilungen der anthropolog. Gesellschaft in Vienna*, 1911, pp. 165 ff.

[2] E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883, pp. 56–8.

[3] *Ethnologische Jurisprudenz*, i. 96.

[4] *Origin of Civilisation*, 3rd ed., p. 77.

[5] *Tonga Islands*, London, 1818, ii. 93.

Moreover, peoples on the lower stages of civilization frequently adopt children for a religious motive—ancestor worship. The (male) descendants are required to honour the deceased ancestors with sacrifice and prayers, and it is considered to be a great misfortune to die childless, because then the departed spirit would be homeless and deprived of offerings. Likewise adoption played an important rôle among the Romans. It was confirmed by an imitation of the act of birth, and was not valid without this fictitious performance. This custom appears to have been kept up until the time of Nerva, who, when he adopted Trajan, arranged that the customary ceremony should take place in the Temple of Jupiter. In a noteworthy account of a very ancient custom encountered among the Greeks, Diodorus mentions that Juno, in adopting Hercules, had to go through an imitation accouchement.[2] There is also an unusual amount of adoption in Japan. "Adopted children are innumerable in Japan", says Dalmas.[3] The poor give their children to the rich to bring up in their families.

The habit of adoption reflects a conduct on the part of parents that seems very strange to us, but which will not appear so when considered in the light of quite similar behaviour in the higher animals. Among many species of vertebrates the mother's love for the young never lasts longer than the "act of birth". Birds, cats, and dogs suckle and nurse strange young, even if they are an entirely different species, with the same care as they give their own. Bitches have been known to bring up young lions or kittens, and even chickens and ducks, with the greatest affection; and the adoption of orphans is also commonly observed among birds. So we are here concerned with a human

[1] Cf. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 181. He reports a case where parents went so far as to murder their own child in order to provide milk for a foundling.

[2] Lubbock, *op. cit.*

[3] *Les Japonais*, p. 156.

trait which, with all its beauty, is yet as old as the animals· Still another thing which goes to prove that this characteristic is inborn is the very ancient system of classification by ages. As we have explained on another occasion,[1] this system consists in dividing the whole tribe into three classes or orders, in strata of grandparents, parents, and children. Every member of a division is father or mother to every member of the next stratum below, so that everyone has not only one father and mother, but a number of them. Man is socially organized to such a high degree that the behaviour of the mother towards the child, at least in this system of division, appears in ancient times to have been not psychological nor individual, but something regulated by the herd. This should make it self-evident that mother-love has always been one of the most elementary attributes of the feminine psyche.

(V) LACK OF ROMANTIC LOVE

Finally, we must establish still another especially noteworthy and surprising fact. In the sexual experience of primitive man the emotion which we particularly understand as meaning love is entirely lacking—that love which has been called by many sociologists "romantic love".

In a higher stage of civilization love is allied with sensuous, friendly, æsthetic, and other higher feelings which have as consequences being "in love", fascination, unbounded surrender, suffering, and burning longing for a particular person. These feelings are manifested by caresses, kisses, embraces, jealous outbreaks, tender flirtations, and loving endearments. But the sexuality of primitives does not go through the same longing—marriage to them is essentially an affair of ownership, woman a necessary domestic animal, and sexual intercourse a purely animal act.

We have good testimony to the truth of this statement.[2]

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[1] *Die Familie*, pp. 22 ff.

[2] Cf. the collection in Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 3rd ed., p. 60; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, chap. xvi; Finck, *Romantische Liebe*, two vols.

"The Indians", says Loskiel,[1] "look on their wives as strangers; many say quite frankly, 'My wife is not my friend', i.e. she is not related to me and means nothing to me." Morgan tells of an Abahuelin woman named Ethabe who was married three years to a Blackfoot Indian without being able to converse with him. "Neither one had taken the trouble to learn the other's language, so they spoke to each other by signs."[2] In Australia, according to Eyre,[3] "little real affection exists between husbands and wives, and young men value a wife principally for her services as a slave; in fact, when asked why they are anxious to obtain wives, their usual reply is that they may get wood, water, and food for them and carry whatever property they possess". The treatment of women is correspondingly crude. "They are frequently beaten about the head with waddies in the most dreadful manner, or speared in the limbs for the most trivial offences." Eyre says that a female person is rarely found who does not carry traces of ill-treatment on her body. "The negro", says Zoller,[4] "loves as he eats and drinks. But never having come across a black epicure, neither have I ever seen a negro who might have attained a more ideal form of sensuality." Monteiro says that in all the long years he was in Africa he "never saw a negro put his arm around a woman's waist nor make any demonstration whatever that could be taken for the least loving consideration or congeniality on either side".[5] Another custom which shows the mentality of primitives is that of South American tribes who marry one of their own women to condemned prisoners of war until the day of the execution. The warrior is honoured to give the prisoner his sister for a wife or else the widow of a comrade fallen in battle. Then, when the prisoner is executed at the stake, "the wife of the dead man approaches and is left for a while to shed a few tears of lamentation to honour his departure. But these tears are soon ended and can hardly be very heartfelt, for she does not renounce the right to eat the corpse with the others, and is often the first joyfully to make known her desires at the funeral feast".[1] Our ancestors, the ancient Germans, likewise had a very barbarous conception of sexual behaviour. Tacitus notwithstanding, this is manifested by the following facts: "In the story of the Nordic Sagas, the wedding procession of the widow with his successor often follows immediately upon the husband's death. The wedding and funeral feasts are combined into one."[2] And Weinhold[3] says that, "according to an old German custom, it was considered that a murdered man's widow received complete compensation by marriage with—his murderer"![4]

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[1] *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Bruder unter den Indianern*, p. 74.

[2] *Systems of Consanguinity*, p. 227.

[3] *Expedition of Discovery into Central Australia*, ii. 321.

[4] *Forschungen in Kamerun*, ii. 69.

[5] Finck, *Romantische Liebe*, i. 467.

To be sure, many travellers have mentioned cases of romantic love among primitives, at least cases where girls were known to oppose strenuously the choice of bridegroom made by their parents, and who, if they could not obtain the object of their desires, have had recourse to suicide.[5] But these are isolated and individual exceptions. In general, practically all the sexuality of primitives is entirely without romantic love, and this is shown very plainly by their poetical creations, of which Grosse aptly says[6]: "In the primitive lyric the conduct of both sexes is alluded to only in the crudest way. We have not succeeded in discovering a single love-song from the Australians, Mincopies, and Bokokudes. Rink, the man who is most familiar with the Eskimos, asserts 'that they have no place in their poetry for the emotion of love'. This fact is a riddle to us. Is there any other feeling that stirs the soul more deeply? Love, in our opinion, is a flower which cannot bloom in the poor and barren soil of a Bushman's life—to him it is no spiritual instinct, but a sensual pain which quickly evaporates in gratification".

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[1] Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, ii. 294, 303.

[2] Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 109.

[3] *Die Deutsche Frau im Mittelalter*, i. 204.

[4] According to Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3rd ed., 1907, p. 362) there is a custom among most Indo-Germanic peoples which is still to be observed in the least civilized branches where women are forced to eat separately from the men.

[5] A collection of such cases in Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 359; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. 775.

[6] *Anfange der Kunst*, p. 233.

Another characteristic difference is that the kiss, which civilized man always connects with love, is something entirely unknown to natural man.[1] According to the unanimous reports of travellers, the kiss of lovers is quite unknown to savage Africans, Americans, Oceanides, and Australians, and even the Chinese feel a natural aversion to it. But the history of the kiss will occupy us later.

(vi) POLYGAMOUS INCLINATIONS

Finally, in order that we may completely understand the picture of primitive love, it must be added that man is by nature not monogamous, but polygamous and exogamous, and that the tendency towards true monogamy has arisen with civilization. We have already treated of this in detail in the fourth book, *Die Familie*.[2] But since this question is very important and is still being constantly debated, we shall come back to it again in the chapter on marriage.

Although we believe this to be a fact, it should not lead us to exaggerate the polygamous attributes of primitive man. It would be a grave error to believe that the love-craving is especially strongly developed in simple primitive peoples, particularly in hunting peoples. With them the erotic necessity seems to be something in the background, that is among the tribes which are known to be the most backward in civilization. Need, hunger, and bodily exertion, these infallible and effective "antiaphrodisiacs", take precedence over the sexual urge. This is because of the far greater importance which must be given to the instincts of self-preservation and nourishment than to those of sex. B. G. Fritsch, for example,[3] says that

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[1] Cf. Finck, *Romantische Liebe*, i. 466.

[2] *Die Familie, Die geschlechtliche Naturanlage des Menschen*, pp. 16–41.

[3] *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, p. 444.

"the Bushmen are not much given to sensuality, for which their hard life under the most severe privation is an unsuitable training". Of the Senoi, R. Martin states,[1] that "any kind of joyful sexual instinct was not to be observed among them". And many observations of travellers corroborate these easily understandable conditions among other primitives.[2]

(vii) SUMMARY

The comparative observation of primitive peoples has shown us that primitive love, which extended well over a hundred thousand years, and which we find even now among many primitives, is characterized by great simplicity and resemblance to animals. Only the primary attributes necessary for the propagation of the species (sexual attraction, mother-love, etc.) are elementary instincts common to all peoples, while the higher secondary feelings which (bound up with the primary ones) later compose the true picture of love are lacking. Primitive sexuality lacks sexual jealousy, chastity, sexual modesty, prizing of true parenthood, and, above all, the personal romantic love which at higher levels of civilization is peculiarly characteristic of the attraction between the sexes. In other words, love was originally only composed of primary animal-like elements; everything which has been added to this foundation is a gift of civilization.

These facts reveal to us not only the character of love among primitives, but also the essentially *biological* nature of sex. This civilized man may modify by custom and tradition, but these modifications remain acquired characteristics which are not inheritable.

Nevertheless, it should not be maintained that the comparative description of primitives is in itself sufficient for this theory. For if the primary archaic traits are still strongly predominant among primitives, these same people have also attained higher secondary feelings, but in an irregular way, acquiring now one, now another. Other proofs, namely the ontogenetic and historical, must be introduced to substantiate this theory.

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[1] *Die Indianstamme der maliischen Halbinsel*, Jena, 1905, p. 874.

[2] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*, 1894, pp. 454 ff.; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–70, 150–56; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1901, ii. 29; Hubert u. Maus, *Essai sur le Sacrifice*, *L'Année sociologique*, 1899, pp. 50 ff.; Crawley, "Sexual Taboo", *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxv (after Havelock Ellis, *Analysis of the Sexual Impulse*, p. 313).

If it is true that ontogeny is a recapitulation of philogeny, then we may look to the child for further proof. To be sure, this evidence suffers from the fact that the individual at the age of puberty has already been greatly influenced by his civilized environment; but even so, we see in every single case that sexual modesty, like bodily modesty, is entirely foreign to the child in the beginning and is brought about by education. And it is the same with feelings of disgust; for example, children are not afraid to carry dead mice in their pockets nor to put unappetizing things in their mouths. Among young men—soldiers, students, or peasant boys—it may be observed (in spite of the influence of their civilized surroundings) that the propensity for polygamy is much stronger than in mature men; further, that their sexual feelings of disgust are extraordinarily small (prostitution), and they often do not worry in the least about the results of their love adventures nor about the responsibilities of becoming a father. Jealousy, without doubt, does exist in youth to a high degree, but it is questionable whether this is induced by vanity or by romantic love inculcated by civilization.

We reach the same conclusion by comparing classes of the same nation, using culture and not possessions, as the basis of comparison. The uneducated classes resemble the primitive in a striking manner. Among the truly cultured, on the other hand, the love-life goes through a combination of the two and attains a gratification enriched and ennobled by higher spiritual emotions. The historical proof, on which we shall now enter, is naturally of more particular importance to our theory. The contrast between primitive and civilized peoples, especially in view of the historical information we possess on the later origins of the secondary feelings, should lead us to believe in the validity of this theory of primary and secondary feelings of love.

II. FAMILY EPOCH

THE SECONDARY FEELINGS OF LOVE

In the foregoing section we tried to outline the heterogeneous picture of primitive love in its principal characteristics. We now mount a step higher in civilization, and proceed to civilized peoples where we encounter a noteworthy change in character. Everywhere, among the Chinese, Indians, and Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans, the secondary feelings, sexual jealousy, sexual modesty, valuation of chastity and true parenthood, are already established, and romantic love has also sprung into existence, even though it has by no means become the flower that is characteristic of our own times. When we call to mind a pair of names from ancient history like Hector and Andromache, Odysseus and Penelope, Æneas and Dido, Pericles and Aspasia, Nausicaa, Virginia, the "Song of Solomon", or the hymn that Sophocles sang to Eros:

> Love, unconquered in the fight,
> . . Who keepest thy vigil on the soft cheek of a maiden,

we cannot doubt for an instant that we have before us an antithesis to primitive love which is a striking example of the evolutionary capacity of the human spirit.

* * * * *

History of the Secondary Feelings of Love

It is quite evident that contradictions so great as these cannot suddenly follow upon one another, that so deep-seated a change must have taken place slowly and by degrees. As a matter of fact, we find at one time or another the beginnings of almost all the secondary feelings among primitives,[1] in many cases even among those in a savage state. And, on the other hand, history tells us that the secondary feelings only took root very slowly among peoples of the family epoch and were developed by degrees.

Modesty

Thus there was in Rome an ithyphallic image (Tutunnus), and young bridal couples had to ride in procession before its penis.[2] The god Priapus, with penis erect, was often put up in gardens and meadows as a symbol of fertility and as a means of protection against thieves.[3] According to Bible history, Absalom openly slept with his father David's wives on the roof of the house in order to show the people that he had taken possession of his father's household. We have already mentioned how in Homer the king's daughters bathed and anointed strange guests; also in later times the Greeks carried phallic images in their processions as symbols of fertility. In the Middle Ages "in Germany everyone, in hovels and castles, went naked to bed. A large number of contemporary writers give the most conclusive proof of this.[4] Moreover, especially in smaller households, a number of people shared the same bedroom, and in most cases the same bed. Only one article of night-clothing figured in descriptions of this period—a woman's head-dress with wide ribbons! This is an especially amusing exception, since it reverses our ideas of suitability for such apparel in relation to both time (night) and place (house). In Denmark the custom of entirely undressing for the night was kept up even to the middle of the seventeenth century. "A Polish officer who went there in 1658 with the relief corps of his countrymen tells how everyone in this country went to bed naked. On his asking whether they felt no shame about undressing in his presence without regard to sex, they answered that no one need to feel ashamed of what God had created; besides, the linen that had truly served the body all day well deserved a rest at least at night."[1] Pictures of the thirteenth century represent very plainly how the people bathed, nude men and women being accustomed to go in at the same time. And, strangely enough, in one of these pictures the men wore a loin-cloth, while the women were entirely undressed, though decorated with necklaces and head-dresses.[2] Characteristic also of the naïve point of view in the Middle Ages were the forms of pastry: for hundreds of years little cakes, rolls, and biscuits were given the most suggestive shapes imaginable ("quædam pudenda muliebra, aliæ virilia. . . . Adeo degeneravere boni mores, ut Christianis obscœna et pudenda in cibis placeant", says Champier), and the corresponding names were on the lips of all respectable people, lay and holy, fathers of families, and young girls, with the greatest freedom from prejudice.[3]

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[1] Cf. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 120, 498. W.'s list is to be looked at with discretion, since the difference between sexual and possessional jealousy has escaped the author. Post, *Ethnologie Jurisprudenz*, ii. 358.

[2] Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, lib. iv, cap. 7; St. Augustinus, *De Civitatis Dei*, lib. vi, 9; Lactantius, *De falsa religione deorum*, Ed. Migne, Paris, 1844, col. 227.

[3] Otto Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Volkerpsychologie*, pp. 660 ff. Cf. esp. Buschan, *Das Sexuelle in der Volkerkunde*, chap. iv. Der Phalluskultus in *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*, Albert Moll, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 280 ff.

[4] In *Alwin Schultz*, i. 169.

Chastity

Chastity as an obligation likewise came about very slowly. In general it applied only to the woman and not to the man; and not even to the woman under all circumstances, as the following examples show. Thus the Bochumer civil code in par. 52, 1, says that the husband who has wedded a wife and cannot give her a woman's right must take her to his neighbour. The Benker heathen law adds to this that the man shall take the woman back again, gently put her to bed, and place before her a roast chicken and a mug of wine.[1] To be sure, this right of the wife to extra-marital relations was allowed only in case of the incapacity of the husband and so acknowledged by law; and it is well known that Luther declares in his writings "On Married Life" that a married woman whose husband is impotent, and who might desire it, can with his consent "have a clandestine marriage with his brother or nearest friend." [2]

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[1] Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, i. 434 ff.

[2] Alwin Schultz, *op. cit.*, i. 171; Kriegk, *Deutsches Burgertum im Mittelalter*, New Series, pp. 28 ff.

[3] Legrand d'Aussy, *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français*, ii. 268.

However, except for the special case of the man's impotency, the law demanded that, in general, the woman of the family phase should remain chaste. But not so the man: prostitution was at his command, and it was so often encountered in the customs of the high family phase that it must necessarily be considered a fundamental attribute of this era. In the Middle Ages the houses of prostitution were held to be a necessary and self-justified organization of city life, and extra-marital intercourse throughout was not considered improper; not only temporal authorities, but sometimes bishops, in Rome even the Pope himself, drew taxes from brothels and considered them a suitable province for their regulation.[3] The papal chamber showed receipts from its brothels which in the tenth century must have amounted to sometimes 20,000 ducats.[4] Also the Archbishop of Mainz received revenues from a brothel; in 1442 he complained that the city injured him by competition "with the common women and girls and by intrigues". [5] Also the Bishop of Strassburg established a house of prostitution in 1309. These houses were even given in fee. Thus the Bishop of Wurtzburg invested the Graf von Hennenburg as marshal of the bishopric with the Wurtzburg brothel as fief.[1] With other peoples in the family phase, the hetairas enjoyed an especial esteem, and were more highly considered than wives. In Abyssinia courtesans were greatly honoured, and occupied a high position in the court of the king; they were often entrusted with the government of a city or a province. "The legitimate wives are proud to see numbers of them appear in their court dress, and live with them on a footing of the greatest confidence."[2] The dancing-girls in India enjoyed many privileges, and were honoured by the title of "Noble Lady" (Begum),[3] and when Buddha came to Vesali he took up his abode with the head dancing-girl, although the magistrate of the city had disputed with her for the honour.[4] In Japanese literature a high position is accorded to maidens who have sold themselves to a brothel for a few years in order to help out their parents or sweethearts with their earnings. According to F. S. Kraufs,[5] intercourse with prostitutes was not looked upon as an unchastity, but as temporary matrimony, and this notion has been handed down as an echo of mother-right. The Geishas were considered honest citizens. In Athens many hetairas were endowed with queenly honours, and to many of them statues were openly erected.[6] In some ancient cults prostitution was even mixed with religion. In Babylon every woman in the country who was of any position had to sit at the altar of the goddess of love, Mylitta, and give herself to the first stranger who threw money into her lap, her reward being consecrated to the goddess.[7] In ancient times religious prostitution was prevalent in many parts of the Near East and

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[1] Cf. Gierke, *Der Humor in Deutschen Recht*, 1886; Rudeck, *Geschichte der offentlichen Sittlichkeit in Deutschland*, 2nd ed., p. 215; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertumer*, 4th ed., pp. 613 ff.; Alwin Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 159.

[2] Max Bauer, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, 5th ed., pp. 64 ff.

[3] Kriegk, *Deutsches Burgertum im Mittelalter*, New Series, p. 294.

[4] Rudeck, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[5] v. Maurer, *Gesch. der Stadteverfassung in Deutschland*, 1870, iii. 109.

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[1] Kriegk, *op. cit.*

[2] Combes et Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris, 1838, ii. 108–20.

[3] Mantegazza, *Indien*, p. 287.

[4] Giraud-Teulon, *Les Origines du Mariage*, p. 44.

[5] *Das Geschlechtsleben in Glauben, Sitte und Brauch der Japaner*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 71 ff.

[6] Dollinger, *Heidentum und Judentum*, p. 684.

[7] *Herodotus*, i. 199.

Greece, e.g. Byblos, Cyprus, Corinth, Miletus, Tenedos, Lesbos, Abydos, etc. Near the temple of Aphrodite were brothels in which numerous "hierodules" of prostitution lived (in Koman, Diodorus says there were 6,000)[1] whose profits were sacrificed to the goddess.

First Appearance of Romantic Love

The appearance of romantic love is often marked by considerable stress and strain. It comes over peoples in the family epoch almost like a spell, which suddenly seizes the higher classes, where it leads to the strangest aberrations, and then dies away, to become in a later phase crystallized into a normal and common manifestation of man's love-life.

So it was with the Greeks: their enthusiasm for the human body, in the artistic production of which they are unsurpassed, manifestly led up to romantic love, but with strange perversions. Since the Greek woman lived in a gynaceum, shut in like a prisoner, she was entirely lacking in education, and social intercourse with any men except her own was prohibited. Having no more cultivation than a servant, she was too inferior to be able to inspire in her husband a deep and lasting passion. So men's desires turned to hetairas like Aspasia, Phryne, and Laïs, who, in contrast with wives whose minds were dwarfed by the burden of housekeeping, combined beauty with great culture, worldly wisdom, and artistic taste, and seemed to Greek men to be an ideal of a freer and more equal womanhood.[2]

But even more than to hetairas, the romantic love of the Greeks (in its first perplexed gropings) went out to men. These Greek "love affairs" were kindled in the gymnastic exercises of the palestræ and gymnasia. This deviation was so widespread that it was considered a self-evident and natural thing, and was approved and practised by the best thinkers and philosophers. (Cf. the *Symposium* of Plato.) And what is strangest, this passion took on bodily all the characteristics of hetero-sexual love, and we find in the Greek homosexual love affairs all those traits—passionate self-denial, sensuous fascination, bitter jealousy, nightly loiterings before the beloved's door, tender dalliance, burning longing for the absent one—which belong to natural ecstasies of love, and which here make their first appearance as grotesque caricatures.[1]

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[1] iii. 57.

[2] Athenæus (xiii. 7) praises the preference that was given to hetairas over wives. Cf. Becker, *Charikles*, ii. 488.

The beginning of romantic love had a different character among the Romans, Jews, Indians, Egyptians, Chinese, and Japanese. We find it arising among peoples who have arrived at the family phase. But how differently it was introduced and developed by various ones is shown by a comparison of the Ars Amandi of Ovid, the odes of Horace, Virgil's story of Æneas and Dido, with the Song of Solomon, and with the seven hundred sayings of Hala composed in India around the third century A.D. "Chinese romances", says Klemm,[2] "portray the omnipotence of love in the most moving manner. But in all these works the young people never think of tasting the joys of love until after marriage has taken place, and never even contemplate this without obtaining the consent of their parents." In the bound feet of the Chinese which keep their women from going out and constrain them to a sedentary life, in the Japanese custom of shaving women's eyebrows after the wedding and blackening their teeth, we can easily recognize the loving husband's rule; for, as St. Augustine knew, he who is not jealous does not love. The Mahabbarata says of the young Damayanti: "Lost in reflection, sad, with pale countenances, they visibly wasted away, and sighing was their only and most favoured occupation. Their glances were ever turned upward, and they were so sunk in melancholy that one would have easily taken them to be drunk. Often the entire face would suddenly become pale, in short, it was plainly love's longing that had taken possession of their minds. They are reluctant to go to bed, to sit down, to eat; they find repose neither by night nor by day. Their plaintive cries resound with lamentations, and they ever begin weeping anew." The poet who depicted this must surely have known the phantasies of romantic love.[1]

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[1] Cf. Döllinger, *Heidentum und Judentum*, p. 685.

[2] *Kulturgeschichte*, vi. 105.

After the downfall of the ancient world new peoples appeared upon the scene.[2] At first these peoples, especially those with Germanic elements, were still in the late clan stage; then, after passing through the migratory and early family phases, they reached, in the Middle Ages, the high family phase where, like all other peoples, they encountered romantic love which here assumed a particular character due to the influence of an ascetic Church.[3]

In the twelfth century the Church had enforced absolute and perpetual monogamy, that is, the indissolubility of marriage and the outlawing of any sexual relations unhallowed by her. The Church sought to exert an iron pressure, and even sexual enjoyment in marriage was looked upon as something, if not sinful, at least unclean and vulgar. Since woman, according to the Bible, had brought all evil into the world, she was considered a sinful and inferior being.

Nevertheless, romantic love also comes to the Roman-Germanic peoples when they reach the same stage of development as the ones previously mentioned. Here it takes the form of the mediæval "minnesingers".[4] At first the songs of the Provençal troubadours, the wandering minstrels, and the German "minnesingers" described woman as an ideal being whom man only dared to approach with an adoration bordering on worship.[5]

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[1] On the period of Indian "Minnedienstes", cf. Richard Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*. The Indian counterpart of Ovid's Ars Amatoria s the Kamasutram of the Vassayana.

[2] Cf. *Die Familie*, chap. ix.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[4] Hellwald, *Menschl. Fam.*, p. 560; Jakob Falke, *Die ritterliche Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Frauenkultur*, p. 49; Weinhold, *Die deutsche Frauen in dem Mittelalter*; Alwin Schultz, *Das hofische Leben im Mittelalter*; Finck, *Romantische Liebe*, *Volksausg.*, i. 186; Ed. Wechssler *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs*, 2 vols., Halle, 1909.

[5] Symonds, *n. Finck*, p. 207.

An expression of this is found in the following verses of Wolfram von Eschenbach:—

It were forever enough for me
If I might with my bare hand
Have touched her robe.
A noble reserve makes me forbear
That I may not appear untrue even to myself.

However, these pure and bashful passions were not of long duration. "'Lady Venus' was all powerful, and everyone, layman and priest, emperor and pope, even as the simplest knight and poet did homage to her rule."[1] Knights did not serve their betrothed, but almost always were lovers of married women. If a knight were married, he was not expected to dedicate his knightly service to his own wife; thus love and marriage were entirely separated, and it was probably the lure of forbidden fruit that gave a special character to this ardour. The knight served his lady for a token of love, but their relationship always had to be a secret one and ever imperilled by spies. They both vastly preferred this secrecy to open adoration[2]; a great desire was frankly considered an end in itself.[3] Thus the unnatural oppression which the ascetic Church put upon the love instinct resulted in its becoming instead of a spur to noble endeavour, increasingly wild and unruly, until it finally degenerated into vice and perversion.[4] Hand in hand with this goes the decline of

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[1] Hellwald, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

[2] Weinhold, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[3] Alwin Schultz, *op. cit.*, i. 451.

[4] How strange many of these perversions were, the following descriptions, which I take from Hellwald's *Kulturgeschichte*, of an epidemic of love insanity will show. These epidemics broke out in Spain in the seventeenth century. Hellwald says of them (*Kulturgeschichte*, Augsburg, 1885, ii. 477):—

"Love became a suicidal desire for flagellation; its fetters were symbolized by a spiked belt, and the foolish lovers were like wild flagellant monks tortured by lust.

"This voluptuous idolatry borrowed its form of ritual from religion in that it adopted the penitential exercise as a sacrifice to love. It was the fashion for princes to flay and mortify themselves during fast time; certain masters of Church discipline, like fencing-masters, instructed in the art of handling the flagellæ and scourges properly and gracefully. During Passion monasticism that set in about the eleventh to the twelfth centuries.

There then arose double cloisters, that is, convents for monks and nuns which were close beside each other. And in many convents, instead of piety and scholarship, there was now laziness, hypocrisy, and misconduct.

Knighthood quickly degenerated, and in the sixteenth century its flower had already faded. The Reformation followed this period of laxness. Church and State again took the reins into their hands, and brought a severe and well-ordered regime. Thus ended the short episode of romantic love's first appearance in the Middle Ages.

Some scholars maintain that romantic love was unknown to all antiquity, and that its first manifestation in the human spirit was in Dante's *Vita Nuova* and Petrarch.[1] This opinion is correct in that romance comes into the family epoch partly as a strange perversion, partly in a totally different form than the present one, and partly only spasmodically. Thus the

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week it was the custom for young flagellants of rank to run through the streets every evening accompanied by their scourge-bearers, and actually in a costume of the order, which resembled that of howling dervishes. They wore cambric coats and conical caps, with a linen veil which covered their features. They halted before the balconies of their idols and gave a dramatic presentation of their martyrdom to the lady, whereupon she gave them ribbons with which they decorated their flagellæ. The true fashion was to wield the scourges only from the wrist, with little arm motion, so that the blood would spirt on their clothes. Meantime, the queens of their hearts decorated their balconies like sacrificial altars with flowers and burning tapers, and cheered on their martyrs with word and glance. If a flagellant met his chosen lady he had to give himself such a blow that his blood would perhaps splash on her face, for which the love-crazy swain reaped a sweet smile. Sometimes it happened that two rival knights-penitent met before the same balcony; then their flagellæ became weapons in a duel; the warriors scourged each other with blows, the lackeys hit each other with burning torches, and the field was left to the conqueror, who now paid homage. Usually a great feast followed, with a masquerade ball. An old Spanish travel story contains the following account of one: 'The penitent takes his place at table with his friends, who overwhelm him with compliments and extol the fortune of his lady. The entire night is spent with stories of such love penitents, and often there is one who has been so pitilessly enraged against himself and has become so sick that he cannot go once to Mass on Easter.' "

[1] Cf. Finck, *Romantische Liebe und Persönliche Schönheit*, 2 vols., Breslau, 1894.

beginning of romantic love with the Romans was stifled under a mass of brutal sensuality and debauch; in Greece it turned to hetairas and degenerated into homosexuality; in India and mediæval Europe it only entered as a short episode, resembling a spiritual epidemic, and even in Japan and China it never reached the height that it has attained in our time.

The more underlying reason for these manifestations is surely the fact that in the early and middle family phases marriage was not a personal but a family affair; the choice of mate lay entirely in the hands of the parents, especially the father, who was accustomed without exception to decide in favour of his daughter's richest suitor. Becker, in *Charikles*, says: "It was quite a usual thing for a father to choose a wife for his son, even one whom the bridegroom had never seen". (So sons as well as daughters were not allowed a free choice.) Widows in Greenland generally marry in accordance with the testamentary orders of their deceased husbands, wherein their own wishes were just as little regarded as those of a maiden.[1] Also in China the bridegroom usually first sees his bride on the day of the wedding. In a story by the Russian historian Karamsin he says: "She was already standing before the altar beside the youth (whom her mother had chosen for her husband without the daughter ever having seen him); already the holy service had ended, and even yet she had never looked upon him who from now on was to be the master of her will. Oh, glory to you mothers and modest daughters who were brought up in the old Slav customs!" Also by our own forefathers "marriage was considered a position full of duties and rules not only between the parties themselves, but also between their relatives, and the ceremony was a chain which bound together two closely united organizations. Hence in ancient times the choice of a husband or wife was entirely a matter of consequence for the relatives on both sides. And for that reason German match-making from antiquity till the last century had the aspect of a business negotiation conducted by two families with much consideration and convention."[1] "Marriage", says Joh. Kunze, "was for the most part not settled by inclination. It was a matter of reason, led up to with mature consideration. The marriage contract was an affair of the entire family. Love did not enter into the picture."[2] Even in the eighteenth century in Vienna marriages were agreed upon by parents while the betrothed were still in the cradle. At the appointed time the bridegroom had to go to the bride agreed upon, and dropping on his right knee demand her hand. The young lady then—this was likewise the rule—had to show him shyly to her parents. On another day he would appear at their house in finest state, conduct his wooing in well-chosen words, often in verse turned out by a rhymester, and the affair was concluded.[3]

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[1] Cf. also the "levirate" marriage encountered among many peoples.

Thus in the high family phase marriage was a family matter, that is, fundamentally an economic consideration, as it is even to-day in many ruling houses where crown weds crown, or among peasants where acre weds acre. Romance does not bring man and wife together, but a sort of "impersonal inclination", and above all the parents' will. But romantic love can only develop when both sexes may choose according to their desires, since it holds sway during the period before marriage. Then the love passion changes over into another more permanent, though usually a less stormy and enthralling emotion—that of married love, which must not be mistaken for romantic love; for married love was already common in the family phase in the lower stages of civilization, and also among many primitives; it was praised by Homer in the famous verses:—

> For there is nothing mightier and nobler than when
> Man and wife are of one mind in a house, a grief to their
> Foes and to their friends great joy, but their own hearts
> Know it best.[4]

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[1] Gustav Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit, 15, 16, und 17, Jahrhundert.*

[2] Joh. Kunze, *Zur Kunde des deutschen Privatlebens in der Zeit der salischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 35, 36, 37.

[3] Scherr, *Geschichte deutscher Kultur und Sitte*, p. 441.

[4] Tr. Lang, Leaf, and Myer.

Romantic love, then, on the contrary, could only have burst into bloom after the family had disintegrated to such an extent, as in the late family epoch,[1] that the choice of mate had become an affair of the individual rather than of the family. But this belongs to the "personal epoch", and will there be carried further.

CAUSES OF THE RISE OF THE SECONDARY EMOTIONS

Thus we see that the secondary feelings of love evolved very slowly and by degrees, that they had already arisen sporadically among peoples still in a barbaric state, then flashed up periodically, only to fall into perversion or decay; but, nevertheless, they continued to flourish, and produced one of the loftiest transformations of the human soul which alone is capable of disproving the absurd contention that man remains ever the same.

In order to be more explicit, let us now try to find the causes which led to such an important metamorphosis.

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Concerning the origin of sexual jealousy and prizing of chastity, we must first mention among the effective causes the growth of marriage by purchase in this epoch.

Wherever trade and division of labour developed, goods were produced which led to the accumulation of wealth; and wherever this wealth was acquired, it became the custom to purchase wives like other goods and chattels. Although marriage by purchase stamped woman as a piece of property, still it was advantageous to her social position. Woman became a chattel for whose possession man had to give part of his dearly loved wealth; therefore he wanted to keep her for himself alone, since the bargain sharpened his sense of mine and thine. Further, the purchase price stood in the way of a casual thrusting aside of the woman (which previously presented no difficulties), and the marriage tie was made much stronger by the purchase of the wife. Moreover, since a man's riches passed on to children who were no longer merely his possessions but his heirs, he wished his property to be inherited only by his *own* children, or those he himself had begotten.

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[1] Cf. on the disintegration of the family, *Die Familie*, pp. 206 ff.

Marriage by purchase not only influenced the chastity of wives, but unmarried girls also were affected by it. Merchants demand intact wares; woman has her definite price, and if it is not paid, her unbought love is considered a disgrace to herself and her family.[1] From the point of view of a merchant, a possession given as a present can have no great value, and such an opinion is found in the lowest known stages of civilization. Of the Australian Narrinyeri, we hear that "the agreement of the parents and relatives is regarded by them as more necessary (than that of the girl herself), and that a girl who goes to live with a man without this form is considered a sort of prostitute. They feel the maiden's honour to be closely linked with the purchase money which the parents obtain on giving her away. That nothing should be given for her is an insult which clings to her always if this form is neglected."[2] Likewise the Indians of British Columbia think that "for a woman to be given away without demanding a definite price for her is in the highest degree dishonourable to her family".[3] And by the Modocks of California "the children of a woman who has not cost her husband anything are regarded as no better than bastards, and are despised by everyone".[4]

Thus it appears at the outset that chastity has arisen from a low motive: *trade—rise of property—marriage by purchase—chastity* can be linked together in a chain of causes that forms one of the many examples of how largely custom is influenced by economic expediency.

The custom among many primitives of "child betrothals" must be added as another cause of the origin of chastity. Often in order to bind two families closer together by marriage, girls are betrothed as children; thus it happens that girls who would otherwise have enjoyed full freedom are bound before marriage by the same restrictions as married women.[1]

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[1] Cf. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, i. 127.

[2] Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, ii. 70.

[3] Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of N.A.*, i. 277.

[4] *Ebenda*, p. 350.

A much more important and at the same time economic reason for the origin of sexual jealousy and chastity comes from the fact that early in the history of civilization the occupations of men became different. Among a people where the men only have variation in their pursuits while the women have no calling but that of housewife, a woman is forced to purchase everything she needs with her sole possession—her love. This is the price she pays for her care, and she obtains care only at such a price. Consequently, there has been formed among women that *esprit de corps*, so clearly understood and brilliantly described by Schopenhauer, which makes all womanhood—in this one point—instinctively hold together and hate anyone acting otherwise (i.e. who gives her love without seeing to it that she obtains care). Women in general hate these deserters from the ranks just as the labourer hates the strike-breaker and as the merchant hates the competitor who robs him of his means of livelihood.

But division of labour among men had still further consequences. As we have shown elsewhere,[2] the fact that men joined together in an occupation was the chief reason that the family organization of society gave place to the ruling class, and the result of this change was the organization of the *State*. It was in the interest of the State to bring about ordered family and marriage relations. Even by people organized according to families and tribes, unmarried mothers were looked down upon, although their families took care of them. But now, when the clan organization broke down, the State rested entirely upon the family. Consequently it protected the family and permanent monogamy by its authority and by criminal laws, thus exerting a strong influence on the development of chastity and sexual jealousy.

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[1] Cf. Starcke, *Primitive Familie*, p. 225.

[2] *History of Social Development*, pp. 208 ff.

Later the Church worked in the same direction. From the start it embodied the resistance of the oppressed to the oppressor; in that it offered its adherents immortality, it banned all earthly enjoyments and sensual pleasures, and placed as its highest ideals celibacy and absolute chastity. Through the formation of monastic orders it especially won power over women, and thus exerted an enormous influence on the spread of the idea that chastity was a thing to be prized.

Added to these external causes were inner psychological ones, which had their foundation in the advance of culture and the greater refinement of the disposition and enrichment of the imaginative life which culture brought about.

We have just seen that natural man who does not know sexual jealousy may nevertheless have jealousy of possession. As soon as he discovers that his wife has secret relations with another, he fears he may lose his useful handmaid, and often enough the woman may forsake him for the new lover and abduction follow seduction. Besides, the rupture of the marriage is the preliminary to a process wherein he finally is the one deceived. Although jealousy of possession and sexual jealousy are very different things, each can increasingly accentuate the other as human understanding departs from the primitive state of only living in the present to the consideration and valuation of the future.

To this must be added a further psychological reason—the appearance of physical disgust which, according to Spinoza, is the chief cause of sexual jealousy: "For he who imagines," says Spinoza,[1] "that a woman he loves prostitutes herself to another, is not only saddened by the fact that his own desire is hindered, but, also, as he is forced to unite the image of the thing loved with the parts of shame of another, he is turned from her". Von Hartmann also seems to have this view, since, in his ethical writings, he often compares such a situation with "a glass from which another has already drunk". Primitive man has not this physical disgust; as an omnivore he is accustomed to the most disgusting objects, such as larvæ, worms, insects, rotten flesh, etc.[1] This lack of disgust is seen in many primitive peoples, especially in their funereal customs. Thus Semon reports of the Papuan races in South-East New Guinea: "They have a habit of burying their dead directly under their houses. There are other disgusting and unhealthy customs of mourning. Near relatives sleep for weeks and months close beside the corpse, which is finally deposited in a special house of mourning, and smear themselves with the fluid of the rotting body before they can bring themselves to leave it."[2] Even this physical disgust, the presence of which has exerted a strong influence on the strengthening of sexual jealousy, is not innate, but is a secondary feeling which first arose in the course of cultural development.[3]

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[1] *Ethics*, Part III., p. 190.

Besides the negative feeling of disgust, culture introduced another positive refinement to the human spirit—that is the desire for æsthetic pleasure. Its germ was even present in primitive man who had preferences relative to his sexual object. He desired a fine robust woman with marked sexual characteristics. But primitive man probably did not take pleasure in line and motion, nor was he thrilled by beauty of form and colour. It was this æsthetic joy which slowly awakened romantic love in man.

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[1] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 50.

[2] Richard Semon, *Im australischen Busch*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 358.

[3] How little the feeling of disgust was developed a few centuries ago is shown by the following notice in Max Kemmerich's *Kulturkuriosa* (pp. 183 ff.):—

"Even in the year 1697 it was shown by the Paris police that the inhabitants were accustomed to throw from their windows dirty water, urine, and filth of all sorts on the streets. Whoever did not do this and found himself the proud possessor of a privy, used for this purpose a common pit whose contents were from time to time emptied on the house garden. That was in the brilliant Paris of Louis XIV (Alfred Franklin, *La Vie Privée d'Autrefois*, p. 123).

"In lack of privies one used street corners, the vicinity of churches, and even the palace. In the Palais de Justice excrement was found everywhere, and even the Louvre was not free from it. In the courts, on steps, balconies, behind doors, everywhere, where one felt the need, he discharged his burden in full daylight without any of the inhabitants thinking anything of it" (*Ebenda*, pp. 118, 135 ff).

Cf. with this the customs of modern Italy.

Further, all the previously mentioned influences which helped to bring sexual jealousy into existence were those which gave rise to individual or personal love. There was yet another psychic advance which led to this: from a mere physical group-member, man gradually became an individual conscious of his separate identity[1]; he was no longer a mere sexual propagating animal to whom each and every representative of the opposite sex made an indiscriminate appeal. He demanded from woman an individuality corresponding to his own. And the moment when he sought and found this newly acquired status in woman also, he discovered in her a personality who willed and chose. But the old ideas of marriage were not easily adjustable to this new demand. For marriage was still a business and family affair, and was not a matter of individual choice or personal desire. Therefore, we can easily see why individual love (as for instance at the time of the minnesingers) was at first separate from marriage. It went not to the bride, nor to a man's own wife, but to wives of others, hetairas, and even boys.

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Rise of Sexual Modesty and Valuation of True Parenthood

Little remains to be said about the rise and growth of sexual modesty and the prizing of true parenthood, since the causes which brought them about have already been referred to repeatedly in the foregoing.

Bodily modesty, as has been said before, originally came from the custom of decorating the body and covering it with clothes. The moment chastity, from the causes already given, becomes a valuable possession, it is found profitable gradually to reinforce it by appealing to bodily shame. Children are educated from early youth to be ashamed of certain parts of their bodies, and later even the State interferes and prevents transgression by threats of punishment. And this sense of shame is accentuated still further—to excess—by the fact that, since the downfall of the old world, the cultural hegemony has passed over to the northern peoples, to whom bodily covering is a climatic necessity.

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[1] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens*, 32nd and 33rd chapters.

In regard to the rise of the valuation of fatherhood, we must give special consideration to the following causes:—

At the lower steps of civilization, with the Andamanese, Australians, etc., children, like women, are man's property; they help him at an early age in hunting and agriculture, and increase his power. He experiences pride in his fatherhood, though this pride is more from being their owner than their procreator.

As soon, however, as riches accumulate, man strives for them in order to leave his possessions and wealth to children who are his own flesh and blood. To leave behind legitimate heirs, then, was an important duty of marriage in the early and middle family phases.

Further, the trouble of bringing up children, which under primitive conditions was imperceptible, became ever harder with increasing civilization, so it is easily understood that the husband is only willing to take this burden upon his shoulders when he knows himself to be responsible for the child, and he resents having another put this upon him, especially through deceit.

INFERIORITY OF WOMAN IN THE FAMILY EPOCH

Love in the family epoch is entirely different from "primitive love" because of the appearance and growth of the secondary feelings whose origin we have just discussed; the difference between the second epoch and the third, that of "personal love", lies in the fact that in the family epoch woman is still considered a subordinate being and remains under the domination of man.

The great improvement in the relations between man and woman which was made in the family epoch (and partly earlier) is unmistakable; to the early sex instinct of the primitives a superstructure has been added that enriches and ennobles love. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in the family epoch woman was not looked upon as an individual—she was not an end in herself, but only a means to an end in the life of man. She has not yet become a personality as can be seen in languages: mankind is "man", "der Mann", "l'homme '; "das Weib" is neuter gender, and has the character of a thing. In fact, woman was man's housekeeper, the bearer of his children, his own flesh and blood, which he required as heirs to his wealth. She was the companion who smoothed the furrows from his brow; she was there on his account, born even from one of his ribs; he was her lord and master, the law-maker on whose side stood right. "He shall be thy master" is the motto of the family epoch. By marriage woman passes from her father's guardianship to that of her husband; she must give him a vow of obedience, exchange her name for his, and from then on be subject to his will; and the woman herself, her whole character, was changed by the will of man. In order to be more easily dominated, she had to be inexperienced and ignorant, chaste. obedient, submissive, and timid, her life had to merge entirely with man's life; in a word, she had to possess the so-called "feminine" characteristics if she would please him.

But mastery also had its dark side. Since all who are made menial degenerate, woman took on still other (secondary) characteristics which embittered man's domination. As he had the power, she became sly, scheming, lying; since all larger activities were denied her, she became petty, querulous, garrulous, and tearful; since she had to be inexperienced and ignorant, she was not an equal associate for man, and a deep mental abyss separated those bound together in perpetual monogamy. Consequently, as both were animated by entirely diverse interests, they lived within marriage without any understanding of each other, and in a state which often resembled secret warfare wherein man was not always the actual victor. And finally, since woman was not economically independent, man had to have her on his hands for his lifetime.

In short, woman in the family phase was domesticated. In the code-book of the Manu we read: "Woman is the cause of dishonour, woman is the cause of enmity. A woman shall serve her husband her whole life long and remain true to him even after his death. If he should deceive her, or love another, and should be without any good points, a good wife must nevertheless honour him as though he were a god; she must not displease him either in life or death." And in order that a wife should actually remain faithful to her husband after death, the Brahmans have established the "suttee", that is, the burning of the living widow on the funeral pyre of the dead husband.

The attitude towards women that we encounter among the Greeks and Romans of classical antiquity was not much better. Aristotle called woman an aberration of nature, and placed her at the head of the monsters. "A man is worth more than a thousand women!" declares Euripides. Thucydides was the originator of a saying very appropriate to this period: "The best wife is she of whom can be said neither good nor evil", who therefore in all probability led the secluded life of a prisoner. "The virtue of which men considered a woman capable at that time", says Becker in *Charikles*, "did not amount to much more than that of a faithful slave." Whenever Athenians referred to their families, they said (according to the same author) *tekna kai gynaikes*, children and wives, wherein the children were intentionally placed before the women. It was the general rule—and this is a characteristic trait of the family epoch—to prefer the sons to the daughters, for later the son will be an independent person, while the daughter passes from the domination of the *pater familias* to that of her husband. "Stobæus (*Sententiæ*) has preserved a number of harsh and often heartless sayings that were popular among the Greeks. It was a saying of a Greek poet that 'Marriage brings only two happy days—the day when a man takes his wife to his bosom and the day when he lays her in the grave'; and in Rome it became a proverbial saying that a woman was only good 'in bed and in the grave' (*in thalamo vel in tumulo*)." [1]

On this account marriage was often regarded by the ancients as a burden—a necessary evil—not as a joy in life. According to their view it was a necessity in order to produce legitimate children; it was an evil because union with an uncultured woman is no pleasure. For instance, Demosthenes explained to the assembled Athenians: "We have prostitutes for pleasure, concubines for the daily care of the body, and wives for the production of legitimate children and as trusty caretakers of our homes".[2] Plato (*Symposium*) speaks in the same vein: "One accustoms oneself to marriage and to the production of children, not voluntarily, but constrained thereto by law." The same point of view is encountered in Rome even in the "best" of ancient times. Thus in 132 B.C. a high officer, the censor Quintus Metullus, declared to the people: "If we as citizens could get along without wives, we would all be gladly relieved of this burden". [3]

Similar views are found almost everywhere in the family epoch. Thus: "In old Russia one of the marriage ceremonies consisted in the father seizing a new whip (the whip hung over the bed of the mediæval wife in England), and striking his daughter lightly with it, telling her he did so for the last time, and then handing it to the bridegroom".[4] In Croatia the bridegroom hit the bride to show that from then on he was master.[5] In Serbia, in Crnagora, and Bocca, Kraufs says that a woman had to kiss the hand of every man she met on the road, even if he were younger than she. On the other hand, it was an unheard-of self-abasement for a man to kiss a woman's hand. If a man goes along the road a woman must not walk in front of him, but wait for him to pass. A peasant will often whip a woman who disregards this custom, as though she had incurred a legal punishment. If a man comes to a house and says "God greet you!" the woman has to stand up and thank him, however busy she may be with her work.

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[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, ii. 252.

[2] Richter, *Die Sklaverei im Altertum*, p. 88.

[3] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticæ*, i. 6.

[4] Meiners, *Vergleichung des alteren und neueren Russlands*, ii. 167.

[5] Kraufs, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslawen*, p. 385.

The Church, which in many respects rigidly fixed the sexual morality of the high family phase as the only right one for all time, did little to raise the position of woman, but, in comparison with the Roman era, actually lowered it.[1] To be sure, woman was put on a level with man—but only in the next world, never in this. Christianity emphasized the feminine qualities of love, humility, mildness, and resignation, whereas previously the masculine virtues—valour, generosity, and pride—had been the important ones. The view of woman was also favourably influenced by Mariolatry, and the indissolubility of the marriage tie insured the care of the woman and her children. But by this perpetual monogamy woman was delivered over to man, the more powerful, for her entire life, and whatever Mariolatry contributed in her favour was counterbalanced by the precept of the nobility of celibacy and the baseness of sexual love. Moreover, she was a victim of the belief in witches which was also fostered by the Church.

The Neo-Platonic and Pythagorian school had already set up the body and its passions as something unclean and abhorrent. Christianity went farther in this direction, even to absurd and unnatural lengths: "It regarded purity as the most important of all virtues, and it strained to the utmost all the vast agencies it possessed to enforce it. To the fabled zone of beauty the Christian saints opposed their zones of chastity which extinguished the passion of the wearer, and would only meet around the pure."[2] While in classical antiquity procreation was regarded as a natural significant procedure to which mankind was indebted for his existence, maintenance, and betterment; while sexual matters were spoken of with the same calm and noble *naïveté* as affairs of State, art, wisdom, or the cares of daily life; with Christianity came that hypocritical and inimical spirit that looked upon worldly pleasure as something sinful, and especially branded love between man and woman as base. Thus the sexual instinct was abhorred and suppressed, although we owe to it not only the preservation of our kind, but also, as Darwin has shown, the development of all breeds of plants and animals.[1] Sexuality was driven into swamps and wildernesses, where for centuries it led a despised existence. The consequence was that the sexual instinct really did degenerate and was forced into unnatural perversities. Since, according to the teaching of the Church, sexual desire was the cause of the first man's fall, marriage was an unclean thing, and woman—Eve, like the Greek Pandora—was the bearer of all ills.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 190–3.

[2] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, i. 338.

This unwholesome and cruel attitude was modelled on the writings of the Church fathers, who proclaimed virginity as the highest ideal, and marriage as a weak concession to human frailty; we have already given characteristic examples of this in a previous book (*Die Familie*, p. 192).[2] In the Middle Ages hatred and abhorrence of woman went still farther; whereas the ancient Germans, as Tacitus says, saw in woman something "solemn and sacred", their mediæval descendants had the illusion foisted on them that she was the seat of demons, and thousands of "witches" had to atone by death at the stake for this error of nature.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 41.

[2] Saint Hieronymus was one of those whose zeal for the glorification of virginity often drove him to ridiculous extremes. For instance, he literally said to his mother: "Are you unwilling that your daughter should be the bride of a king (namely, God) rather than that of a soldier? She has conferred on you a great blessing; she has made you *God's mother-in-law*"! (*Ausgewahlte Briefe desehl. Kirchenlehrers Hieronymus*, P. Peter Lechner, Regensburg, 1859, I. Epist. 18 ad Eustochium, p. 82). He says in another place (*Ebenda*, p. 367): "You, too, O virgin or widow, why do you carry on such a long conversation with a man? Why do you not fear to be left alone with him? Might not the wants of nature force you to depart and leave him with whom you go about more freely than with a brother, more shamelessly than with a husband?" Cf. also Lecky, *History of European Morals*, ii. 283–4; von Reitzenstein, *Entwicklung der Liebe*, p. 32; Finck, *Romantische Liebe*; Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, etc.

The Mediæval Church drove the European peoples into a fallacy unequalled by any in the history of the world. Natural feeling fought unavailingly against it, as we have already seen evidenced in the chivalric movement. Even the Reformation bettered woman's lot only a little, mostly from the fact that Luther put a stop to the celibacy of the clergy. Woman was and remained up to the most recent times—domesticated. Contemporaneous poetry, some examples of which we quote here, shows most clearly the spirit that animated the ideas of woman in this family epoch.

In the *Imperial Chronicle* (v. 4517 ff.) a poem of the twelfth century tells the following tale: "Lucretia's husband returns home late at night with a guest. Joyfully she springs from her bed and looks after their refreshment with food and drink. And when, to test her, her husband throws his wine in her face, without murmur or complaint she goes to her room, dresses herself more beautifully than before, and returns to the further serving of her guests."[1]

In the *Taming of the Shrew* (Act V, Sc. 2), Shakespeare has the tamed shrew say:—

Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,
Thy head, thy sovereign; one that cares for thee
And for thy maintenance; commits his body
To painful labour both by sea and land,
To watch the night in storms, the day in cold,
Whilst thou liest warm at home, secure and safe;
And craves no other tribute at thy hands
But love, fair looks, and true obedience,—
Too little payment for so great a debt.
Such duty as the subject owes the prince,
Even such a woman oweth to her husband;

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[1] Kunze, *Deutsches Privatleben zur Zeit der salischen Kaiser*, p. 82. Schrader, in *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3rd ed., 1907, p. 321, brings characteristic examples of masochism among Russian, South Slav, and Indian women of this epoch.

And, when she is froward, peevish, sullen, sour,
And not obedient to his honest will,
What is she but a foul contending rebel,
And graceless traitor to her loving lord?
I am asham'd that women are so simple
To offer war where they should kneel for peace;
Or seek for rule, supremacy, and sway,
When they are bound to serve, love, and obey.
Why are our bodies soft and weak and smooth,
Unapt to toil and trouble in the world,
But that our soft conditions and our hearts
Should well agree with our external parts?
Come, come, you froward and unable worms!
My mind hath been as big as one of yours,
My heart as great; my reason, haply, more,
To bandy word for word and frown for frown:
But now I see our lances are but straws;
Our strength as weak, our weakness past compare,—
That seeming to be most, which we indeed least are.
Then vail your stomachs, for it is no boot,
And place your hands below your husband's foot:
In token of which duty, if he please,
My hand is ready, may it do him ease.

Not less striking is the following characterization of woman in the family phase from Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*[1] (VII, Verse 114):—

Early a woman should learn to serve, for that is her calling;
Since through service alone she finally comes to the headship,
Comes to the due command that is hers of right in the household.
Early the sister must wait on her brother, and wait on her parents;
Life must be always with her a perpetual coming and going,
Or be a fetching and carrying, making and doing for others.
Happy for her be she wonted to think no way is too grievous,
And if the hours of the night be to her as the hours of the daytime;
If she find never a needle too fine, nor a labour too trifling;
Wholly forgetful of self, and caring to live but in others!
For she will surely, as mother, have need of every virtue,
When, in the time of her illness, the cries of her infant arouse her,
Calling for food from her weakness, and cares are to suffering added.
Twenty men bound into one were not able to bear such a burden;
Nor is it meant that they should, yet should they with gratitude
view it.

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[1] Translated by Ellen Frothingham.

And in *Faust*[1]:—

Margaret

I know too well that my poor gossip can
Ne'er entertain such an experienced man.

Faust

A look from thee, a word, more entertains
Than all the lore of wisest brains.

And later:—

Margaret

Dear God! However is it, such
A man can think and know so much?
I stand ashamed and in amaze,
And answer "Yes" to all he says,
A poor unknowing child! and he—
I can't think what he finds in me!

These quotations show the high family opinion of woman much more clearly than long comparisons; to serve, obey, and acquiesce were absolutely imperative. And we shall understand that it could not be otherwise if, in closing, we now briefly summarize the reasons, which we have already partly touched upon, for woman's low position.

1. After the downfall of the clan organization (the greatest revolution that human society has undergone), social organization arrived at a critical transition period. The State was still too weak to enable it to be an establishment for the common welfare, and the family became stronger and took over many functions of society. "Weak State, strong family, weak woman", is a proposition to which we shall return later.
2. Men became differentiated; they had independent callings which women did not have.
3. Consequently all riches and power belonged to men, and women were entirely under their domination.
4. Men (at least in the ruling classes) were under each other; women were not. Thus the former were the only founders of the State and the only law-givers.

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[1] Translated by Bayard Taylor.

5. The principal activity of the free man was war; the agricultural State (in opposition to the later industrial State) is at the same time a military State. War is the enemy of woman because it puts her entirely under the protection of man.[1]

REVIEW OF THE FAMILY EPOCH

Let us now try to summarize the fundamental attributes of love in the family epoch. We find that they are characterized by—

1. The growth of secondary emotions which enrich and ennoble the sex instinct, thus differentiating the family epoch from that of primitive love.
2. The inferior status of woman and her domination by man, who in this period moulds woman to his will—this trait differentiating the love of the family epoch from that of the dawning personal epoch, as we shall see directly.

* * * * *

SUMMARY

Comparative ethnology and historical observation converge in the conclusion that the sexual emotions of civilized man are to be separated into two groups:—

1. Primary, and
2. Secondary.

To the primary (essential) feelings belong only the physical instincts, namely, the mating instinct, which is polygamous, or, at all events, not monogamous; mother-love, possibly feminine shyness, and jealousy of possession. These alone are both inborn and biologically inheritable. They form the biological foundation, and all other emotions of love are secondary, i.e. acquired with civilization; they are not biologically inherited, but are cultural acquisitions handed down by tradition. To these belong sexual modesty, sexual jealousy, prizing of chastity and true parenthood, and personal or romantic love.

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[1] More details on this in Chapter V.

At the present time these two groups are somewhat opposed to each other. The natural instincts have been in part ennobled by the civilized ones, but also in part repressed. Hence the process of evolution creates a struggle between natural and civilized man. As soon as favourable opportunities present themselves, nature is ever breaking out again. So there appear, especially in the family epoch, those reversions wherein the primitive form of love again emerges in such a bewildering manner that we often believe we see before us the embodiment of primitive man in all his particular characteristics.

Such reversions took place, for example, in the Renaissance; in the time of "gallantry" under the leadership of royal absolutism; during the French Revolution, especially under the Directoire; in Prussia under Frederick William II, etc.[1] In such times, as is shown by the history of morals, primitive love again breaks out. At festivals, in dancing and bathing customs, in the brothel, in mystery plays—everywhere primitive animal instincts of sensuality overthrow civilization, and for a while hold boundless sway among all ranks, peasants and knights, burghers and monks. And this licentiousness reaches its highest point with those who enjoy the greatest freedom, namely, the ruling classes as evidenced by the conduct of the aristocracy and princes in times of absolutism (the *Parc aux Cerfs* of Louis XV). As an example of this licence, in the papal court of Alexander VI beautiful courtesans and strong-limbed servitors performed the sexual act *en masse* for the avowed purpose of providing entertainment for the whole court.[2] The picture even includes that primitive trait which is the hardest for us to imagine, namely, the lack of sexual jealousy. It sounds truly paradoxical that such a reversion could have been tolerated by the conventions of civilization, even as they were at that time. To many important novelists sexual jealousy is the most important single motive in the world, and they are ever depicting its miseries in the most glowing colours. One thinks, for instance, of the novels of Paul Bourget, Marcel Prevost, Gabrielle d'Annunzio, etc. Even Shakespeare makes Othello say,

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[1] Cf. esp. E. Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte*, Munich, 1909.

[2] Cf. E. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, i. 322, where these conditions are depicted with remarkable clarity.

> I had rather be a toad,
> And live upon the vapour of a dungeon,
> Than keep a corner in the thing I love
> For other's uses.

And yet in the *très bonne compagnie* of the *ancien régime* this feeling was practically abolished. According to the moral code of these noble circles, the wife of one was at the same time the wife of another, and nobody felt his vanity to be injured if his wife were engaged in a love affair with another.[1] The women of that circle also gave full rein to their passions. Thus Empress Catharine of Russia had a lady of the chamber who was called the *éprouveuse*, to whom the Empress was accustomed to turn over for trial any favourite who seemed to her to have merit.[2] Not only in such reversions, where Nature makes good her claims with almost explosive force, but in yet another way have we evidence of the power of natural disposition which continually derides all laws, punishments, and religious commands. I refer to that undercurrent made up from prostitution, adultery, extra-marital sexual relations, sexual perversions, etc., which flows along with the "high line of culture" undisturbed by the history of all times and people, and which up to the present day has lost little, if any, of its power.[3]

Since sexual morality is of all morals the one most often lacking even in men who are not criminals, we are not concerned here with these reversions and undercurrents. Our object is, above all, to follow the contour of development. Mountains are measured not from their valleys and ravines, but from their peaks. And in sociology the immediate purpose is to recognize the lines of development in their totality. Their single temporary curves must remain for later detailed investigation.

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[1] Details in E. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, and in H. Taine, *L'Ancien Régime.*

[2] Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 1860, iii. 313.

[3] Literary examples of this in *Die Familie*, p. 34.

III. Epoch of Personal Love[1]

"Natura non facit saltum", says a well-known proverb. We know what a long preparation has been necessary before the trees suddenly put forth buds and blossoms in the spring of the year after a warm rain. In the autumn, when the old leaves once again have fallen, new buds are already formed, so that they may unfold as soon as their time is come. And civilization shows us the same phenomena—it is, after all, only a fragment of eternal nature. Civilization also makes its preparations long before it wants to take a great step. New epochs arise slowly, gradually; civilization does not grow by sudden leaps sharply cut off from each other, epoch on epoch, phase on phase, but in slow transitions, where the new growth first enters lingeringly and timidly, and slowly overcoming the opposition of the sluggish human mind, "springs forth" step by step, making more and more room for itself until the new epoch is at last at hand.

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[1] In the fourth book (*Die Familie*) I called this epoch "individual". This designation has, however, the drawback that individualism as the opposite of socialism shows a one-sided development which is not meant throughout by the expression "individual epoch". Besides, I have (*Sinn des Lebens*, chap. 32) divided the gradual advance of human growth into three epochs: I, socialistic type; II, individualistic type; and III, social individualistic type. I thus came upon two systems of gradations:—

A. Character Development.	B. Geneonomical Development.
I. Socialistic type.	I. Tribal Epoch.
II. Individualistic type.	II. Family Epoch.
III. Social-individualistic type.	III. Individual Epoch.

Here the word individual is used for the first time as the opposite of social, but the second time is used in the sense of social individual. My endeavours to free myself from this annoying heteronomy were long without reward until I came upon the designation "personal" instead of individual. In this way the problem of nomenclature is very easily solved, since personal is exactly the same as social individual. (Cf. *Sinn des Lebens*, p. 184.) I shall, therefore, as soon as possible, change the designation "individual" in my fourth book, *Die Familie*, to "personal" throughout.

We are particularly aware of this when we examine the geneonomical condition of our own time. As we have shown elsewhere,[1] we by no means yet live in the fully developed personal epoch, but in the transition that leads to it; meaning that the late family phase is only just now slowly changing into the early personal phase. Many present conditions are hence entirely "familial", while some already plainly bear "personal" characteristics. A new type of love relationship between man and woman is the most conspicuous characteristic of progression to the personal stage. The following must be named as the most important causes that have led to this revolution in ideas of love which has taken place among the more advanced classes.

CAUSES OF THE TRASFORMATION OF THE LOVE EMOTION

1. Owing to the invention of complicated machines, early capitalism changed into large-scale capitalism towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Individual production changed into mass production, society was placed on a new economic basis, and is now in process of adapting new and entirely different circumstances to its whole civilization and to its geneonomy.[2]

2. The new methods of economic production which capitalism brought about were of such a powerful and superior nature that the lesser affairs of "family relationship" could henceforth no longer compete; on the contrary, one economic function after another had to be given over to the "social relationship". The result was that the family disintegrated.[3] For the stronger these social relationships became, the weaker became the family, until now the individual in many cases (as in legal matters) is no longer bound to the whole of

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[1] *Die Familie*, chaps. 10 and 11.

[2] *History of Social Development*, pp. 189–95; *Die Familie*, pp. 203 f.

[3] Cf. the chapter "Disintegration der Familie" in *Die Familie*, pp. 206–13.

society through the medium of the family, but directly as an individual—a legally competent, autonomous, and socially free personality.

3. A further consequence of the industrial revolution was the transformation of the agricultural or military State into the industrial or labour State. In the military State, war was the primary occupation of the free man. The dominating despotic spirit which the military organization called forth was also implanted in the family, where man ruled as absolute master over his wife and children. Through the capitalistic system industry and labour are brought to the front ranks. War is denounced as being no longer gainful, and is hated as a barbarism. To be sure, one may object that there have never been such large standing armies as those under whose burden the people have to suffer at present. But the existence of these endless armaments is not due to the desire for war, but to the fear of war, and to the fact that the conservative and unenlightened spirit of the inhabitants of Europe has not as yet been able to invent an international organization more in accord with modern times. But at any rate, in consequence of this transition, the despotic spirit in the family is in a fair way of dying out. Woman no longer needs man's physical protection, and she can now venture to free herself from her long bondage.

4. Even more, she can dare to break the much stronger fetters of economic dependence which up to now have made her subservient to man. For so long as man is the only wage-earning partner and gives woman a specified portion of his earnings, she is entirely set apart from any idea of obtaining power for herself, and is already bound by gratitude and duty to place above her own the will of the man to whom she owes her daily bread, and, to a certain extent, to belong to him. This we have plainly shown in the foregoing quotation from Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. However, with the capitalistic methods of production a new development takes place here also. For through the new form of industry a great number of household tasks, which up to now had been plainly woman's

field of activity, were taken away from the family. The woman's household work was diverted, and she was drawn into the life of the wage-earner. In Germany the number of women in industry amounted to:—

1882	4,259,103
1895	5,204,393
1907	8,243,498

so that now women make up 30·7 of all industrials, and a third of the popular labour is already being carried on by women.[1] With this, a new epoch has begun in the history of the division of labour which adds to the first epoch ("sexual division of labour") and to the second ("differentiation among men") a third epoch ("differentiation among women"), that is progressing irresistibly with the relentlessness of a law of nature: for differentiation is a common law of evolution that governs not only civilization, but also all organic growth.[2] The rise of *differentiation among women* signifies a new epoch not only in the history of the division of labour, but also in that of love. For as soon as a woman stands on her own feet economically, she is independent; she becomes a free personality, no longer at the command of others, but one who can live and choose according to her own desires and to whom love must necessarily be of a different character than to the familial woman. And even if in our late family era it is still the familial woman, particularly the heiress and woman of means, who sets the standards of society, the new type of woman to whom the country of the future belongs is she who has become independent through her own labour, and, like man, is "differentiated" and enjoys the same rights and privileges.

5. In still another way has woman's burden been made lighter by the fact that the world has gradually become filled with mankind; in places, even filled to overflowing. In the family epoch, when the population was thin and man had first to conquer the earth, there was some point to the words,

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 302 ff.

[2] Details in *History of Social Development*, pp. 196–231.

"increase and multiply as the sands of the sea"! Woman had to bear the greater part of the brunt of this command, she had to fill the world with humanity, and since this duty was still more increased by the great infant mortality of earlier times, her life was almost entirely consumed by pregnancies, confinements, and care of children. But in the nineteenth century the population of Europe increased from 187 to 378 millions, and it is clear that at this rate a general increase must of necessity lead to over-population, and hence to famine, poverty, war, misery, pestilence, suffering, and deterioration. This is now being more generally realized, and, among forward-looking people, neo-Malthusian preventive measures have become quite common.[1] Thus the character of love is also changed. Whereas earlier it was plainly a way of serving the husband, now it is to both man and woman an end in itself. Individuality, therefore, is not absorbed in the care and raising of children. Love becomes an element in the personal pursuit of happiness because it is necessary to the joy of life. Love, formerly considered only a means to an end, is now the goddess clad in the girdle of happiness who leads humanity on its way to the highest personal fulfilment.

6. Love will be increasingly stamped with this human character as the emotional life in particular is refined by growing civilization, and as human life draws nearer to its high and distant goal. How far this refinement in the individual has progressed may be seen by the fact that ancient man's inherent cruelty, his lust to see others suffer and his delight in martyrdom, torture, and burning has not only been mitigated, but even reversed. By enriching his power of fantasy man has learned to "think into" others, to sympathize with them, to feel the tortures of the tormented, to be a slave in slavery, in suffering to suffer. In consequence of this change of heart, which was aided by diminution of the warlike spirit, sympathy often takes the place of contempt and disdain, and rejoicing in

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[1] Cf. the detailed exposition on the law of population in vol. vi of *Entwicklungstufen*: "Zähmung der Nornen I", second part.

others' happiness supersedes envy and malicious pleasure in their downfall. The enrichment of fantasy, which lends to the instinctive life, these new (secondary) motives is again an outcome of the growth of culture. In place of the illiterate appears the "reading man", to whom "books talk," that is, to whom the noblest thoughts of great men have become accessible; and even the intellectually inferior classes, though they do not read books, take part in the life of humanity by means of the newspaper, which now invades even the most distant villages. In conjunction with books, another force has appeared which not only has worked towards ennobling the inner life, but is also an undeniable symbol of how much has been actually accomplished in this direction. I refer to modern music, i.e. the music which began with Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Since music is the immediate language of the soul, it is able to transfer the feelings or spiritual emotions of men of genius directly to us, and to fill our lives with a great wealth of spiritual beauty which we should never have known without it. And even if some modern music has perhaps wandered into unwholesome exuberance, often to forced noisiness and instrumental preciosity and superficiality, we nevertheless possess a great collection of masterpieces of whose uplifting and liberating power no music lover would deprive himself. So great is the advance that, should a Hellene of the time of Pericles enter our concert halls, he would presumably be quite incapable of comprehending the music of a Beethoven, Brückner, or Désiré Thomassin—at least at first.

7. In closing, we must not fail to mention the influence of singleness (agamy) that is so very prevalent. Almost one-half of the sexually mature adults of our time are not married, and the greater part of these have no family life. Among them are found many of those refined natures who cherish their spiritual life, and who, just because of these spiritual necessities, and because they find no outlet for them in the usual humdrum marriage relation, have decided to remain unmarried. And since so many of these "protestants of marriage" (Ellen Key) are

social leaders, and prominent in art, literature, and science, they have made great contributions towards investing love with a new sacredness.

GENEONOMIC REVALUATIONS IN OUR OWN TIMES

All these, and many other influences of which the differentiation among women must be taken as the most significant and far-reaching one, have worked together to endow love with an essentially different character, at least in the consciousness of advanced people. Powerful revaluations have taken place in the "personalistic" mind, of which the most important are:—

First and foremost: whereas from the familial point of view woman was taken to be an inferior order of being created for man's ends, the personal age conceives of her as an *equivalent individual, enjoying the same rights and privileges*, living in her own name, not man's; in short, a personality, with equal claims to happiness and freedom and with the same rights. From this standpoint man and woman are equivalent, enjoying equal privileges, but—not equal. There will always be many differences as long as there exist "sexual differences".[1] Thus, for instance, a woman is physically weaker than a man; married and parental love (maternal instinct) are embedded in her nature much more deeply than in man's. She feels more personally (hence her gifts for works of fiction), while man turns more to purely material interests. She is in many respects less creative than man. Although music and midwifery have of old been open to the female sex, there are almost no feminine musical compositions; and forceps, the most outstanding invention for the assistance of childbirth, were first invented by a man. One can even plainly recognize sexual differences in such unimportant things as sharpening a pencil and throwing a ball.

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[1] Cf. Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*. Anthropological and psychological examination of secondary sexual differences. Literature in Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 77.

However, one must not accept the fact that all present sexual differences are innate; they are called forth in a large measure by education and by environmental influences which block woman's natural tendencies or over-develop them in certain directions. Certainly we are not yet in a position to know the "natural" character of woman which can only be fully revealed after she has attained freedom.[1] Then, too, sexual differentiation in no way involves a difference in value between the sexes, but rather a difference in kind. What woman lacks in manly virtues she makes up for in feminine ones, and the particularly feminine vices like curiosity, garrulity, cunning, etc., are more than counterbalanced by the equivalent masculine ones: drunkenness, coarseness, dullness, etc.

But since the measure of mankind is man, and the only part of mankind that came into consideration at all during the family epoch was man, woman was measured by masculine standards, and naturally was found wanting. In the personal view, on the other hand, the most desirable woman is she who possesses her specific feminine attributes in the greatest perfection, who is a "characteristic" woman, and who therefore supplements man in the most opportune way. Thus we have gained a truly objective way of measuring woman's worth.

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[1] Rosa Mayreder shows in a diverting way how cautious one must be in making snap judgments on the nature of "man" and "woman". In the first chapter of her essays (*Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit*) she compares a number of the sayings of prominent thinkers on the difference between man and woman that most drastically contradict each other. Thus, according to Lombroso, woman is masochistic, and according to Egerton "her life element is an insatiable will to power". Virchow says she is distinguished for her sweetness of disposition, Havelock Ellis says for her bad temper. While some maintain that woman experiences sexual pleasure to a much higher degree than man, others believe that "the sexual apathy and indifference of woman must be regarded as a natural condition". (For examples see Reinh. Gunther, *Kulturgeschichte der Liebe*, Berlin, 1900, p. 11, etc.) The solution of these contradictions naturally lies in the fact that women, like men, differ widely among themselves, and that rash generalizations which only take into consideration a small number of women must of necessity lead to false conclusions. We wish to mention here an especially valuable and significant book for our times, Hilda Maurenbrecher's *Das Allzuweibliche. Ein Buch von neuer Erziehung und Lebensgestaltung* (Munich, 1912). In the first chapter of this book, "Das Mädchen", the discerning author points out often in surprising ways all the particular influences by which the so-called womanly characteristics have been inculcated almost from the nursery. And she comes to a conclusion that adds even more laurels to the wreath of Socrates. For, according to Plato, Socrates was of the opinion that men and women were homogeneous, and hence should share the same education; he maintains that the difference is only that women are weaker than men in everything (Plato's *Republic*, Bk. V, chapter 3).

What are feminine properties and activities? In answering this question we find that during the course of evolution a great change has taken place in ideas of "natural feminine occupations", and the conception of her activities is quite different from the times when woman was thought to exist solely for the bearing of burdens and the carrying of heavy loads.[1] In the family epoch, only household work was considered a womanly occupation—"Woman's place was in the home". In the personal epoch all activities are opening up to her more and more—whether professional or athletic,[2] which fit her qualifications. (The objection that women will thereby become "masculinized" has already been answered.[3]) Very striking is the change which the idea of "the lady" has undergone. Formerly the term implied primness, feminine handiwork, pinched waists, capriciousness, eternal sitting at home, growing old early, sewing-circles, gossip, insipid novels and trashy literature, a complete lack of interest in all great questions of humanity, and, above all, an enormous amount of ridiculous toilettes; and in the *Physiologie du Mariage* of Flaubert we read that the tenderly nurtured little feet of a real "lady" should only touch the floor of the carriage, never the pavement or the street. Instead of this "familial" hothouse plant, we have before us to-day the keen mountain climber and skier, the writer and artist, the English woman lawyer, and the Norwegian Member of Parliament: these are the "women" whom we now honour far more than the "ladies" of the family phase.[4]

[1] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 199.

[2] On women's athletics in Australia, cf. *Dokumente des Fortschritts*, p. 713.

[3] *Die Familie*, p. 306.

[4] On the parisitism of the lady, see Olive Schreiner, *Woman and Labour*.

Closely related with the foregoing is another change—that which has taken place in "gallantry". Familial gallantry was a kind of benevolent contempt—comparable to the alms of the rich or the mercy of the mighty—the sign of a protective relationship, but one, however, in which the protector acknowledged that woman had in her power the distribution of the highest rewards, and that these were sweeter when freely granted than when forced—hence gallantry. But the very ostentatiousness of his allegiance must have made the intelligent woman doubly conscious of man's domination. "Man," says Ninon de Lenclos, "gives woman the privilege of refusal, but keeps valuable rights for himself alone." Hence with "modern women (as Käthe Schirmacher aptly remarks)[1] gallantry has come into disfavour. It comes at too great a cost. We want to exchange these superficial honours for simple politeness and well-defined rights". And Dr. Lessing writes in *Antirupel*: "If our dear women had any pride and self-respect, they would sternly forbid this kind of politeness, this giving up of seats, letting them enter a door first, carrying of coats, putting on of skates, etc. The young man emphasizes his rôle of protector and benefactor where protection and beneficence is not necessary. He makes his compliments to the sex, not to the individual." Or as Havelock Ellis has put it, "Woman is treated as a mixture of angel and imbecile".[2]

Actually, the old form of gallantry was only a "privilege of refusal" beneath which lay hidden a real subordination of woman. Law was at the disposal of man; and woman, with minors and the insane, was in many situations relegated to a special class deprived of civil rights. However, in almost all the civilized countries of our times women have entered the fight to obtain equal rights with man, and step by step are succeeding in their demands. In England the law of August 1882 gave women the same civil rights as men; in Germany in 1908 women shared the right of assembly, and in many countries, such as Australia and Norway, they have achieved both the active and passive right to vote.[1]

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[1] *Mutterschutz*, i. 354.

[2] Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene.*

This change is felt in many superficial things which do not amount to much in themselves, but are very obvious in daily life. In the "high family phase" it is a widespread custom for the spinster and married woman to dress differently. For instance, married Japanese women shave their eyebrows and lacquer their teeth black; the married Jewess covers her hair with a coif; in old Germany the married woman wore a "band" to cover her face,[2] and a "cap" was put on her, the removal of which, under Salic law (*Lex salica* LXXV), was punished by a fine of five shillings. Similar outward customs have come down even to our time by which woman appears as an exclusively sexual being. Thus we begin to find the division of women into "Miss and Mrs" (which has the same effect, and originates from the same conception) as little in harmony with the spirit of the age as dividing men into "Master" and "Mr.", and calling even the oldest bachelor "Master". Among the peasant population of Oberammagau this is actually done; every unmarried man, even if he be seventy or eighty years of age, is officially titled on his gravestone "honoured youth" (*ehrengeachter Jungling*). Many advanced women are also beginning to find it unjust that they should lose their names by marriage and exchange them for their husbands'. In this connection Swiss and even more Portuguese customs are representative. According to Louise Ey,[3] it is a prevailing custom in Portugal for women to keep their own names even after marriage. Sometimes that of the husband is added, but this is by no means always the case. The children take either their mother's or father's name, or sometimes combine the two, and this surname is duly registered. This arrangement is symbolical of the view that the wife has as good a right as the husband to leave her name to her children; and besides, in this way all ugly or ridiculous surnames which bring undeserved mortification on their bearers disappear in a few generations.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie.*

[2] Cf. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, 3rd ed., ii. 307.

[3] Adele Schreiber, *Mutterschaft*, Munich, 1912, p. 560.

Another characteristic of the personal point of view is that formerly only the very young girl inspired love, the girl of fourteen to eighteen years (see Racine, Molière, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Byron, Scott, etc.), and the woman of thirty was already considered an "old maid". Whereas now women of thirty and forty have been glorified in verse. Youth was formerly much preferred because it is more readily commanded and trained, and because the ideal of woman resembled the child in so many ways.

During the family epoch the so-called double standard of sexual morality held universal sway, i.e. man demanded from woman fidelity and chastity which, however, she was not to expect from him, and he forbade her a misstep, since it reflected upon his own mastery. Public opinion in our time has turned against this idea also, and is advancing ever more rapidly; equal rights and equal duties, and the single instead of the double standard.

In the family epoch there was a deep intellectual chasm between man and woman. The economic division of labour (sexual differentiation) divided man and woman more than it united them. Husband and wife had totally different mental outlooks, and were separated by a whole world. In order to be able to dominate her, man wanted his woman uneducated and ignorant; the educated woman was considered "unfeminine", and outlawed. It is noteworthy that Milton went so far as to teach his daughters Greek and Latin in order that they might read the classics to him, but he did not allow them to learn enough to understand a single word of what they read.[1] The man of to-day, on the other hand, does not find pleasure in a simple "housewife", but seeks in woman an intellectually equal "comrade" with whom he may live on the footing of a perfect mutual understanding. Many famous examples (John Stuart Mill, George Eliot, etc.) show that marriages of professional people where both parties are working together towards a common goal are generally the happiest.

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[1] Finck, *Romantische Liebe*, i. 216.

Since sexual love has been enriched by such secondary characteristics, it has not only become spiritualized and ennobled, but has also taken on a settled permanent character. While it was formerly founded only upon an evanescent passion and on the superficial condition of common economy, it now unites man and woman by spiritual bonds. They feel bound to one another in an almost unbreakable unity which is the most important factor in overcoming the innate polygamous instinct.

Therefore, the more the centre of gravity is shifted from the purely instinctive to the spiritual realm, the less appeal there will be in sexual enjoyment with an indiscriminate sex object. Thus this new, finer love turns more and more against extra-marital relations, and above all against prostitution. The very word "prostitution" has a new significance. While formerly this term implied only professional intercourse with a number of different people, the "personal" attitude maintains that every sexual surrender which has at its foundation any motive other than a solely sexual one is prostitution; so now one may speak of "marital prostitution". This term which is directed against the commercial aspect of love would have been impossible to use in the family epoch because it would have hit all too hard at a widespread form of respectability.[1]

One of the most important differences between the two epochs under discussion lies in the fact that formerly marriage was a family affair, while now it has become an inner personal inclination of the individual.

In the family epoch, as we have already seen, it was the parents who made the choice, and sometimes it was customary for the fiancés to see each other for the first time at the wedding.[1] Since the parents laid most importance on the harmony of the couple's economic circumstances, the high family phase was pre-eminently the period of marriage for money. Now, on the other hand, public opinion condemns these marriages, the number of which is rapidly decreasing, and even if they are seen frequently enough they are bound to become ever rarer with the refinement and increase of individualism.

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[1] The stern familial definition of prostitution embraced every extra-marital intercourse. "A woman", says Streubel (*Wie hat der Staat der Prostitution gegenüber sich zu verhalten*, Leipzig, 1862), "who allows extra-marital intercourse even once is dishonoured andhas prostituted herself." (On different definitions of prostitution cf. Dr. Eugen Müller, *Die Prostitution*, Munich, 1898, 2nd ed., pp. 1 ff.)

For now the choice of partners depends more and more upon the free decision of the individual. This was scarcely possible in the family epoch, because the sexes were carefully kept apart, and had almost no opportunity to know each other intimately before marriage. Even as fiancés they could not speak to each other except in the presence of a third person. They thought "first love" should lead immediately to marriage. Hence the Romans married off their daughters at twelve or fourteen years of age, and even up to our own time it was customary to find husbands for girls as young as possible, immediately on leaving the convent or boarding school, and after finishing off with a few social functions and balls.

Now, on the other hand, we think that an intimate acquaintance must precede marriage, since choice certainly presupposes a thorough knowledge; that "first love" when love is immature and undeveloped very often leads to a misstep, and as George Eliot aptly observes, "is as seldom the best as the first poem"; and that unhappy marriages can be best prevented when the future pair have already known each other well beforehand.

For this purpose there has developed, especially in England and America, a custom characteristic of the personal phase—the so-called flirtation,[2] which consists in allowing young people free opportunity to "try each other out" before being bound for ever, so that they are no longer forced to leap into the future with bandaged eyes. To be sure, flirtation is branded by the moralists of the familial code as a departure from good form and as a very objectionable innovation, and it cannot be denied that for the ignorant daughter of the old school it does constitute a danger. But the new marriage also demands a new education for marriage which may be characterized by the American form of education—Americans from childhood are brought up to an independent ("help yourself") individualism, and even in school boys and girls are quite accustomed to one another (co-education).

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[1] Cf. also Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, VIII, i. 287 ff.

[2] Cf. Finck, *Romantische Liebe.*

Proverbially unhappy love-matches bear testimony that young people often err in their choice of mates, and parental advice has never succeeded in eliminating these unhappy marriages, which we believe are due to gross neglect in education for marriage. However, love-marriages, a kind of natural selection, are more likely to assist in the betterment of the race than the system of marriage for money by which so many old families have died out or degenerated.

In the family epoch it was customary for daughters to marry in order of their ages. An example of this is Laban's tricking of Jacob when he replaced Rachel by Leah on his wedding night. To Jacob's complaint the next morning, Laban answered that it was not customary to give the youngest before the oldest. This custom, which was generally adhered to during the high family phase, has now fallen into disuse. In earlier epochs children too were marriageable, and even now boys of fourteen can marry girls of twelve in England, provided they have the consent of their guardians.[1] Such child-marriages are understandable from the family point of view, but are abhorrent from the personal.

Another change has taken place, and that is in the wedding. Before, this was the ceremony of binding together two families and their kin, and was therefore celebrated with all pomp and festivity. To-day we feel more and more that it is vulgar to have all eyes on the bride just before she gives herself to her husband, and that small, inconspicuous weddings are in better taste than those elaborate festivals.

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[1] *No longer correct: present age for both is* 16.—Ed.

Since love and marriage are coming to be considered the most intimate private affair between one man and one woman, the entrance of a third party, be it even the Church or State, is looked upon with disfavour. In good society couples seek to make their relationship as inconspicuous as possible. This custom, to be sure, is an old one. In the *très bonne compagnie* of the *ancien régime*, which raised social intercourse to a point never since attained, it was considered bad form and taken amiss for a woman even to address her husband before others as "*mon ami*".

A further important change is seen in the dissolubility of marriage vows. Perpetual monogamy prevailed in the family phase enforced by Church and State. Now, however, the Church, which still adheres to this demand, has lost its jurisdiction in marital affairs; and the State recognizes in principle divorce under certain conditions. But the State impedes rather than facilitates divorce by laying stress on the idea of blame. Most unhappy marriages are not so because one party is particularly to blame, but because the couple simply do not get on well together, and therefore live more or less apart, while each of them might have been perfectly happy in another marriage.

Earlier, marriages had to be endured even when love had long since been superseded by hatred; and since in a lifelong monogamy, where both wills are continuously in opposition, only one can rule, the other had to remain under the yoke for an entire lifetime. These conditions were possible because individuals were not capable of a full development, and the women were not independent. The modern individual, on the contrary, can, on account of his greater capacity for growth, get along without obedience from his beloved just as he does with his brothers and sisters. He considers marriage without love prostitution, lifelong cohabitation with a hated person unbearable martyrdom, and a perpetual sacrifice of his own will treason to himself and his own personality. He has also come to another point of view in regard to the interests of the children. "The youth of a child is spoiled, perhaps his whole life is poisoned, if he must exist between parents who live together in secret or open repugnance, arguments, and squabbles. Children are intuitive, and many a one becomes a cynic because he has to be for ever the witness of a guerilla warfare, which often takes the most horrible forms of hatred and viciousness, between those whom law and nature bid him love and honour. Hence, even for the children's sake, a new regulation of sexual relationships is a pressing necessity. Let us have abandonment by one parent rather than a perpetual poisoning of youth." [1]

In proportion as marriage becomes freer and withdraws from the sphere of Church and State, the State is increasingly interested in the raising and education of children. Ellen Key has formulated this idea in the statement that "love is becoming more and more a private affair, while children are becoming a problem of society". [2] Formerly the State laid its hand on marriage, and left the children to their parents, now the contrary is happening.

Closely related to the above appears another change—that concerning the treatment of the illegitimate child. In the familial world he was an alien, the mark of common scorn, and often a criminal; and the unmarried mother was disgraced, socially ostracized, and often driven to infanticide, while no disgrace attached to the father. How greatly this treatment has changed appears, among other things, in the fact that the contemporary State gives subsidies to the unmarried on the same basis as to the married mother.[3]

Also, we have different views on the remarriage of widows whose fate in the family phase was most deplorable. Whereas formerly a second or third marriage of a widow was often considered a disgrace, the (familial) disapproval of such a step has almost entirely disappeared. Moreover, the possibility of a woman's contracting a second marriage has increased because man used to lay great stress on the woman's being intact, while in the personal view everything gives way before personality. All public demands decrease in the same proportion, since the promotion of harmony in individual lives is now the only thing that matters.

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[1] Henriette Furth, *Mutterschaft und Ehe in Mutterschutz*, I. Jahrg., Heft 10, 11, and 12, p. 487.

[2] *Love and Marriage.*

[3] On the modern idea of the unmarried mother, cf. Adele Schreiber, *Mutterschaft*, p. 257.

Also in regard to modesty, nudity (prudery), abortion,[1] free marriage, æsthetics, etc.—everywhere we see the individual on the way to a free personal point of view.

Formerly æstheticism threw a thick veil of secrecy over everything sexual, and in its shadow teemed fearful things, mysterious and unmentionable. To-day this timidity has been driven away: to what extent is shown by the Society for the Suppression of Venereal Disease, which, in public meetings attended by women of high position, undertakes, with the guidance of physicians, to throw light on subjects which only a few decades ago could not have been mentioned beyond the limits of professional literature.

Further, there has been a most important revolution in general ideas of sexuality.

As has been brought out earlier, in the high family time of the Middle Ages under the domination of æstheticism the sexual instinct, resulting from the fall of man, was treated as something low and unclean which should not pollute the life of God's elect. At least such was the precept of the Church, though it clearly involved great hypocrisy. Now the sex instinct is regarded as a natural property of the human soul, to which is due not only the existence and betterment of humanity, but also the development and improvement of all kinds of domestic animals and plants.

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[1] A great number of renowned criminologists have declared for a complete or partial exemption from punishment for abortion. For example, Franz von Liszt, Hrchorowicz, Schneickert, Radbruch, Wittels, Lewin, Fritz Berolzheimer. Cf. Adele Schreiber, *Mutterschaft*, Munich, 1912, p. 216.

Where formerly sexual abstinence counted as one of the highest virtues, the virtue of the elect, of those who were wedded to Heaven; now it is an unnatural evil, under whose pressure life is embittered and debased.

Earlier, women were brought up to scorn everything sexual, and to act hypocritically as though even the slightest thought of it caused them pain. Now, even if a certain reticence is indeed grounded in the feminine nature (and we do find this reticence among primitives and even among the higher animals), modern woman is certainly far removed from such unnatural prudery. Frenssen brings out their point of view in a striking way when he makes Anna Boje (in *Helligenlei*) cry, "Wise people say one can easily suppress it. Then Anna Boje cries out in scorn: Suppress it? Then shall I also suppress my eyes and my breast? If I have loved another before him, what is that to him? To whom must I account for what I have done with my body? I, a free, sound human being? Have I degraded it? Have I soiled it? Have I done anything unnatural or unclean? I am exalted by it!" And what is more, mankind of the personal epoch sees not only nothing sinful in love, but calls it, with Schiller, "The star of poetry, the kernel of life", an indispensable and powerful means to the fulfilment and happiness of the individual—one of the highest and noblest joys of existence, without which life is unsatisfied and shallow. For a high state of civilization means reasonable control and enrichment of natural instincts rather than suppressing and uprooting them. "Sensuality (Fichte has said) should be cultivated and refined—that is its last and highest purpose."

Thus the view-point on the value of sexuality has completely changed, and this revaluation will be seen to be even more striking when we now treat of the rapid growth which romantic love has made since the beginning of the personal epoch. And here too we can divide it into three periods. In the first primitive epoch the love emotion, strange to say, was entirely without romance; in the second or family epoch we note an episodic eruption of feeling that was not without perversions; and in the personal period romantic or personal love, the *amour passion*, the most precious gift of civilization, at last attains a more and more perfect evolution.

We may define as the *personal* character of romantic love that it prefers to devote itself to establishing as exquisite a relationship as possible by the intensive concentration on one chosen mate. How great a force it has become in the soul of the people is best shown by that faithful mirror of life—poetry. Whereas among savage peoples love-songs are unknown, and even ancient drama is concerned with other material, now the number of popular songs which have love as their theme is legion. In novels the plot almost always hinges upon love as the proper pivot, and plays can hardly hope to have a popular interest if the main part of the action is not given to a betrothal—in much successful drama almost all the marriageable personages are turned into bridal couples by the time the curtain falls. It is also noteworthy that the passionate friendships found among the ancients in the form of blood brotherhood are now almost obsolete.[1] Finck gives a striking reason for this when he says that where the stronger passion of romantic love flourishes there is no more room for friendship in the old sense, since now all the highest sentiments have gone over to the romantically beloved object.

The causes that have called forth our modern love have been already mentioned, but in order to complete the picture we must present the following points in regard to the further development of personal love in particular.

One of the most important of these is the recognition of woman as a personality. Whereas formerly woman was treated as a piece of bought goods or a possession with no will of its own and disposed of as such, she now becomes an individual with free choice and will. And surely this ability to choose must arouse man's passion in the greatest measure, since it is such a tremendous victory to be chosen as "the most glorious of all" by the one he himself has selected from thousands of others. This feeling will be strengthened even more by the fact that the lover always idealizes the object of his passion, and places it high above himself. And the more highly the person of the woman is valued either actually or ideally, the more easily and the more surely can it kindle romantic love in man.

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[1] Cf. Orestes and Pylades, Cicero's *Lælius*.

The influence which the refinement of æsthetic and moral emotions has had on the development of love has been mentioned before; we have still to consider two other manifestations which have not yet been touched upon in this connection —sexual abstinence and clothing.

One can hardly fail to perceive that the evolution of romantic love was greatly influenced by the advancing pressure which State, Church, and general morality brought to bear upon sex life, and also by the spread of continence, all of which brought about an aggravation of the sex instinct. Natural man found little or no obstacle in the way of indulging his appetite. But by natural gratification the instinct is at once appeased, and cannot develop to a passionate intensity. Repressed, on the contrary, it turns in upon itself and fills the soul with flaming passion and vivid fantasy. For example, Christian asceticism had this result. St. Francis often got up at night and rolled in the snow or in thorns. The hermit saints were tormented by voluptuous hallucinations which disturbed their souls, and which they took to be the temptations of the devil. Primitive man, accustomed to the natural satisfaction of his instincts, does not know the white heat of sensuality as we find it among these saints. Further, with bridal couples the fever heat of love changes over into a quite different feeling, that of married love, as soon as the marriage is consummated. "With the girdle, with the veil, the holy illusion is rent asunder." On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that when love is unhappy the ecstasy remains. The famous lovers of poetry were unhappy lovers—Tristan and Isolde, Romeo and Juliet, etc. Finally, the evolution of romantic love goes parallel with the obstacles which in the course of time were put in the way of satisfying the longing. Its beginning coincides with the beginning of civilization, when the State established strong, permanent marriages. And when the Church had carried through this system with hitherto unheard-of severity, there appeared the minnesingers, and love's ecstasies burned with a brilliant flame. On this basis we must accept the fact that romantic love, at least in its higher grades, where it easily goes over into sentimental extravagance, is a manifestation that goes hand in hand with sexual repression.

A further expansion of eroticism was called forth by the use of clothing to cover the body.[1] This may sound paradoxical, since civilized man, accustomed to clothing, is wont to experience an erotic lure in nakedness. Correspondingly, the error is widespread that naked savages must be particularly unbridled in their sexual relations. Reports of travellers, however, agree that they are rather to be distinguished by sexual coldness.[2] For instance, Appun says of the naked Guiana Indians that "they are sexually cold, and do not know passionate love for woman at all".[3] And Finsch reports the same of the women of the Caroline Islands. W. Winwood Reade[4] says: "Young men erroneously suppose that there is something voluptuous in the excessive deshabille of an equatorial girl. On the contrary, nothing is so moral and so repulsive as nakedness." W. Parker Snow[5] says: "Clothing can be more enticing than nudity. Association with naked wild people would, in my opinion, tend to lessen immorality and profligacy more than a million sermons apparently ever can or will. More sin is caused, I think, by false modesty—by concealment and partial covering—than by remaining true to Nature, who never seems other than she is."

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[1] Cf. *History of Social Development*—"Evolution of Clothing," p. 116.

[2] Cf. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 431; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, p. 191; Fritsch, *Polit-anthropol. Revue*, February 1893.

[3] *Das Ausland*, 1871, p. 832.

[4] *Savage Africa*, 2nd ed., London, 1864, p. 546.

[5] *Two Years' Cruise of Tierra del Fuego*, London, 1857, ii. 51.

Numerous examples show that the clothing of savages is not used for modesty, but, on the contrary, as a means of seduction. Among the Saliras, for instance, only the courtesans are clothed in order to fascinate by the unusual.[1] Among many negro races of Central Africa, according to Barth,[2] married women go about completely exposed to the public view quite unashamed, while young marriageable girls cover their nakedness. From the foregoing, then, it follows that customary nudity is less alluring than covering, and especially than partial covering.

On closer consideration this paradox, too, is easily understandable. First, nakedness lacks all erotic appeal for the one who has it constantly before his eyes. Second, clothing (especially semi-covering cleverly arranged) allows fantasy images to arise which always surpass sober reality in the power of fascination. And third, the unknown has a stronger appeal than the known. Thus clothing brought about an increase of eroticism which remained entirely foreign to the *naïveté* of primitives and ancients.

In the family epoch clothing was used in an obscene way for the purpose of marking women as females as much as possible. The breasts and pelvis were brought out of their natural lines and accentuated in order to entice the male. The result was the hour-glass shape, and the well-known constantly recurring abdominal complaints. The woman of the personal epoch, on the other hand, no longer wishes to appeal only as a sexual being, but as a personality; hence we see the old "familial fashions" which were distinguished by corsets, tight-lacing, etc., slowly and with many deviations changing over into the new "personal styles".[3]

As it is mirrored in dress, so also is the development of love reflected in the history of the kiss,[1] which is at the same time the history of love.

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[1] Bastian, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei verschiedenen Völkern der Erde*, Berlin, 1872, p. 174.

[2] *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord-und Zentralafrika*, Gotha, 1857, ii. 467.

[3] Cf. "Evolution of Clothing" in *History of Social Development*, p. 128.

1. As has been earlier set forth, the custom of kissing is entirely unknown in the first epoch of primitive love. K. F. Appun, for instance, says of the Guiana Indians[2] that no kind of embrace between lovers is ever encountered. "There is no word for kiss, and this agreeable pastime is entirely unknown to them. When I introduced it among them it aroused much laughter among the Islanders, and made the participating Indian girls, who did not know what it meant, quite embarrassed. Nevertheless, they soon resigned themselves to the inevitable, and later much enjoyed this kind of entertainment."

2. In the family epoch the kiss appeared among the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Arabians, etc., but as a new-comer in the world it first had to feel its way around, in order gradually to find its proper goal, and its aberrations on this journey are very characteristic of the family phase. Among the Arabs women must kiss the long beards of their fathers and husbands. Cato says of the Romans that they used to kiss their wives to find out whether they had drunk any wine (a thing sternly forbidden to Roman women). Moreover, they had several kinds of kisses which had special names: "basium" was the kiss of courtesy, "osculum" the kiss of friendship, and "suavium" the kiss of lovers. Also in the Middle Ages the kiss was used in various ways. In 710 the custom appeared of kissing the pope's slipper. In the sixteenth century it was customary for ladies to reward their dancing partners with a kiss, and for a long time the clergyman who unites a couple in wedlock has had the privilege of kissing not only the bride but all the bridesmaids.[3] The kiss was also exchanged between friends, and especially relatives, and kissing of hands was used to express deference to strangers, etc.

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[1] Cf. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, ii. 261; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, pp. 375, 395; Finck, *loc. cit.*, i. 465-85.

[2] *Das Ausland*, 1871, p. 832.

[3] Finck, *loc. cit.*

3. For the third or personal epoch it is characteristic that after all these vagaries the kiss has found its proper vocation; only the "suavium," the kiss of love (and the mother's kiss) has remained for our time, and has become so well established in this domain that romantic love without it is altogether inconceivable. The kiss of relatives, which is going out of custom more and more, except in small communities, and the kiss tendered to monarchs, alone bear witness to the once widespread use of this form of salutation.

In the family epoch, as we have seen, economic circumstances were the predominating factor in the union of two persons, regardless of their compatibility. Economy was stronger than personality. The saying was, "First goods, then sentiment".

In the personal era personality, not economy, is the binding force; economic motives are slowly withdrawing from love and marriage; the choice of mate is becoming more and more decided by personal individual inclination wherein the fortunate instinct for natural selection is allowed free play; the marriage contract, earlier signifying joint ownership of property, is being drawn up more and more with the idea of separating property. (Modern marriage contracts are regular diplomatic and judicial masterpieces, which are only accomplished after long battles between the parents-in-law.) "Personalism" is gradually and persistently invading marriage to such an extent that every personality feels he must command a room where he can do as he likes, and where only his desires are considered. By too close cohabitation couples grow together like Siamese twins; every vibration of one is felt by the other. Daily irritations easily develop which (even among people who are sincerely attached to each other) slowly lead to mutual aversion. A foundation of such disharmony leads to hatred and estrangement, and every disturbance is projected on the other. "As in dawning love all mental powers are turned toward the discovery of merits in the other, so here the mind incessantly searches for the faults of the other. In both cases the seeker is abundantly rewarded."[1] Too great intimacy blunts the edge of erotic emotion, which often leads to evil results eugenically. In many cases the husband only recalls his marital duties under the stimulus of alcohol, and this is scarcely the proper setting for conception.

Such abuses can be mitigated when one applies to married people the saying of Jean Paul that "friends shall share everything with each other except their room". In this respect the free marriage which William Godwin contracted with the famous feminist, Mary Wollstonecraft may possibly become typical of the personal epoch. Godwin was of the opinion that members of a family should not see too much of each other. He also thought that it would hinder their work if they lived in the same house. Therefore he rented some rooms a few houses away from her dwelling, and often made his first appearance at a late lunch: the hours between they both filled with literary pursuits. Letters were exchanged between them during the day.[2] At all events, it is true that love is stimulated by short separations just as it is dulled by incessant and confined cohabitation. "The surest death for love", as Lily Braun has very aptly said, "is not to be free; it increases with the pathos of distance." These Godwinian marriages (as we might term them after their founder) could only be very prevalent with the rise of large scale co-operative housekeeping.[3] But at any rate separate dwellings may be the only solution of the difficulty for many highly evolved people who "can live neither with nor without the other".

As another sign of the times we must note the change in public opinion as witnessed in current literature. Until the most recent times the betrothal was the main plot of novels and plays. But the betrothal novel is now being more and more displaced by the marriage novel, which begins where the former left off, and which subjects marriage to a microscopic examination and criticism. We quote a newspaper article,[1] which says "an English critic has compiled statistics which show that out of eighty English novels, seventeen make marriage ridiculous as an outworn institution, eleven have to do with the need of divorce, twenty-two advocate free love, seven make merry at the expense of marital fidelity, and twenty-two speak of marriage in a really scandalous manner. And the strangest thing is that all these novels were written by women". Also it is worth calling attention to the fact that these ideas predominate in artistic better-class literature, while the so-called "trash" has remained true to the old way of thinking.[2]

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[1] Frieda von Bulow, *Einsame Menschen*, pp. 93, 94.

[2] Helene Zimmern, "Mary Wollstonecraft", *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1889, 15th Bd., 2 Heft, pp. 259–263.

[3] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 279 ff.

And even in scientific literature the call for a reform of marriage begins to be ever more insistent. The writings of John Stuart Mill, August Bebel, Hulda Maurenbrecher, Ellen Key, Adele Schreiber, Wahrmund, Rosa Mayreder, Helene Stöcker, Forel, Lily Braun, etc., are in the hands of every educated person. We shall have to return to these pioneers of marriage reform in the chapter on marriage, where we will meet with still other developments of the personal period.

REVIEW AND SUMMARY

In closing let us briefly summarize the points of this chapter. Thus we may say:—

1. In the first epoch, that of primitive love, animal-like conditions still prevailed; man is still a semi-civilized herd animal. He is not yet awakened to individuality nor to love.

2. In the second epoch, that of family love, love became more and more ennobled and enriched through the appearance of a series of secondary emotions. Under the influence of increasing wealth, individualism begins to prevail, but only

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[1] *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, Nr. 277, 1907.

[2] On early individual literature, cf. *Die Familie*, p. 326; Ivan Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, chap. xxxi.

among the men of the ruling class who educated and modelled woman according to their own desires.

3. In the third epoch, that of personal love, woman also gradually develops into a personality with will and choice. Evolution is directed towards equalizing the birth and rights of both sexes and towards maintaining the independence of the growing woman.

It should be self-evident that there are no sharp divisions between the three epochs, but that they flow into one another through gradual transitions. Isolated secondary characteristics reach back to the simplest primitive peoples. Every phase of evolution is the mother of the next, and holds in its womb what will later be blossom and fruit.

CHAPTER II

CHANGES IN THE MOTIVE FOR MARRIAGE

The three most important inducements which lead man and woman to marry are:—

I. Love-need.
II. Production of offspring.
III. The mutual help which husband and wife vouchsafe one another.

These three motives which form in themselves the purpose of marriage have been found together ever since there has been a marriage, but their relation to each other varies with the changes which are characteristic of the three periods that geneonomy has passed through up to the present time.

EPOCH OF PRIMITIVE LOVE

In the foregoing chapter we have seen that primitive man knows neither sexual jealousy nor romantic love, that he places no value on the chastity of woman and as little on actual fatherhood. If we also take into consideration (as has been shown elsewhere),[1] the fact that the primitive sexual instinct demands variety and is polygamous, the question naturally arises as to how primitive man came to marry, i.e. to live in a more or less permanent matrimonial relationship, since freer sexual intercourse would agree much more with his natural tendencies.

Primitive men themselves give the answer to this question: they value in woman not the beloved but the worker. For example, a chief of the Chippewas explains to the traveller Samuel Hearne: "Women are created for work. One of them can draw or carry as much as two men. They also pitch our tents, make our clothes, mend them, and keep us warm at night. In short, in our country we absolutely cannot get along without them on a journey. They do everything and cost only a little: for since they must be ever cooking, they can be satisfied in lean times by licking their fingers".[1] To natural man on the lower stages of culture marriage is less an erotic than an economic relationship in which the wife becomes the handmaid or slave, a willess tool, and a valuable piece of the husband's property. The principal reason for primitive marriage lies not in the sphere of geneonomy but of economics. Owing to "sexual division of labour"[2] the two sexes become mutually dependent on each other. This dependency then becomes the dominant quality in the relationship. Woman, as the weaker vessel, is pitted unarmed against man, and is overthrown by him. "No one can serve two masters"; therefore, as men cannot enslave women as a whole, they each take one (or as many as they can support) into their personal service. As primitives lead a very unstable life, this sexual division of labour makes marriage all the more essential to them, for a lone man will often leave the herd and is unable to manage without his beast of burden—woman.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 16–43.

Thus woman becomes the first slave, and primitive marriage is nothing but the subjugation of woman.[3]

This statement is the key to the understanding of primitive marriage (and to the origin of marriage). It easily explains the contradictions which seem to appear on first consideration, namely:—

1. Primitive love is, despite the philoneism of the sexual instinct, comparatively durable—because it is not founded upon an evanescent passion, but upon a permanent economic necessity.

2. Although primitive man does not know sexual jealousy, nevertheless jealousy of ownership is prevalent almost everywhere in the lowest levels of culture. The husband willingly

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[1] *Die Familie*, p. 72. Fuller particulars in *History of Social Development*, pp. 198 ff.

[2] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

lends his "beloved" to his guests, but watches over his *slave* with a stern and jealous eye.

3. The form of marriage is optional polygamy: the husband wishes to possess as many labourers as his means allow, which, everything else being equal, is also usually true of "monogamy of necessity".

4. The husband can repudiate his wife at any time, just as one drives away a useless slave. He is clever at getting round the seamy side of married life, for he can indulge his instinct for variety by frequent lending and borrowing of wives, by promiscuity at festivals, and by occasionally exchanging a wife without losing the labourer.

5. The unmarried, in contrast to the married women, are sexually free because they are not yet in servitude. Thus the married men of Australia, for instance, were most jealous of their wives—and truly with good reason, since abduction usually followed seduction. There such licence rules among the unmarried women that Combie called the sexual habits of the Australians "almost entirely promiscuous".[1]

6. Woman was won by barter, service, or purchase, and perferably, when the occasion offered, by capture. She was obtained in the same way that one acquires a piece of property or slaves, etc.

All the characteristics of primitive marriage, which at first glance are so puzzling and full of contradictions, become quite comprehensible as soon as we have grasped the fact that the motive for marriage is primarily not love—but woman's labour.

The secondary motive for marriage among primitives is to beget children. These also count as the property of the husband, and the wife in her rôle of mother becomes even more valuable to him than before, since she herself is not only his labourer but provides him with other labourers also. These children, too, are reckoned as the possessions of the father, boys as helpers, girls as objects for sale, although the woman bears the entire burden of their upbringing. Further, the sons are bound to avenge murder, which is the only legal protection members of such a society enjoy.

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[1] *Arabin, or Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales*, 1845, p. 254.

Among the higher primitives, up to the semi-political peoples, the marriage motive remains the same; for instance, MacDonald says of the East Central African: "The more wives he has the richer he is. His wives keep him. They have the position of higher servants who unite in themselves all the qualifications of men and maid servants in England and do all his work without demanding pay".[1] And Büchner writes of the Dualla: "Wives are man's capital and the children he hopes to obtain from them his interest".[2]

To summarize, we can now say that in the first geneonomic epoch woman's labour is the primary motive for marriage. Desire for children takes second place, while the need of love plays a very inferior rôle. For individual love, as we have already seen, is lacking at this stage, and the purely animal lust which natural man displays can be enjoyed better outside of marriage, where he can obtain a greater variety.

SECOND EPOCH

In the second geneonomic period, whose beginnings coincide with those of civilization, there comes to pass a shifting of emphasis in the marriage motive.

The hut has become the house, the village has been replaced by the city, which now sets the fashion. Woman is confined to the home. Male slaves have taken over her heavier duties—the sphere of her labours shrinks to domestic work. At the same time, through differentiation among men and the rise of commerce, riches are created to which man's heart clings, and from which death snatches him away—leaving them to be enjoyed by whom?

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[1] *Africana*, i. 141.

[2] Dr. Max Büchner, *Kamerun, Skizzen u. Betrachtungen*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 30.

So now the production of heirs of one's own flesh and blood comes to the front rank in marriage motives. If we should ask the people of antiquity why they married, they would give us the unequivocal answer: In order to have legitimate heirs. The saying of Demosthenes already quoted is entirely characteristic in this regard: "We have prostitutes for pleasure, concubines for the daily care of the body, and wives for the production of legitimate children and as trusty caretakers of our homes". Hence woman's highest virtue was her fertility; sterility was a disgrace, and almost always constituted a ground for divorce or repudiation. In Rome there was even a political obligation to dissolve childless marriages and to contract new ones.[1] These ideas were still more strengthened by the religious beliefs of the ancients to whom ancestor worship was one of the most sacred duties of descendants.[2]

THIRD EPOCH

In the third or personal epoch the motive of producing children recedes. Ancestor worship has gone; the world has been filled with humanity; the burdens entailed in producing children have grown inordinately, and parents no longer find in their children a support for their old age. The result is that man seeks to avoid the blessing of children, and preventive measures to this end are becoming ever more prevalent. It is characteristic that sterility in a woman, which was generally a ground for divorce in the early and high family phases, is considered less and less so in the legislation of all modern countries.

On the other hand, romantic love, so little developed in the family epoch, has in the meantime come into full flower, and sexual love seems now destined to be the most powerful inducement to marriage. "What takes first place in the consciousness of lovers (Rosa Mayreder very pertinently says) is the consideration of the beloved being as a person and not as a labouring or propagating animal."[1]

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[1] Wahrmund, *Ehe u. Eherecht*, p. 27; cf. also Grimm *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 4th ed., i. 613; von Reitzenstein, *Liebe u. Ehe in Ostasien*, p. 40.

[2] Cf. Esp. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, 10th ed., 1885, pp. 17, 34, 52 ff.

In addition to this, the economic value of woman has been greatly lowered, since capitalistic methods of production have drawn an ever increasing number of them from domestic labour. Nevertheless, economic motives in the desire for dowry often play an important rôle still. But with the advance of differentiation among women, as has been earlier brought out, love and marriage are being more and more separated from and raised above economic considerations. Love will be more and more the only determining motive that can induce a man and woman to deny their freedom and bind themselves permanently to one another. It is self-evident that the other motives for marriage will in no wise be eliminated.

The following little diagram gives a concise view of the changes which marriage motives have undergone in the three geneonomic periods:—

EPOCH I	EPOCH II	EPOCH III
1. *Economy*	1. *Children*	1. *Love*
2. Children	2. Economy	2. Children
3. Love	3. Love	3. Economy

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[1] Rosa Mayreder, *Sexuelle Lebensideale*, Frauenzukunft, iv. 335. Richard Wagner has lauded this modern love in the close of the *Götterdämmerung* in the following verses, which would be entirely incomprehensible to a primitive:—

"Neither possessions, nor money,
Nor divine splendour;
Not house, not court,
Nor lordly magnificence,
Not the deluding union
Of dull convention,
Nor the hard laws
Of hypocritical custom:
Blessed in pleasure and pain
Remains—only love."

CHAPTER III

METHODS OF OBTAINING A WIFE

The following kinds of marriage are distinguished by the method by which the wife (or husband) is obtained:—

Marriage by capture, exchange-marriage, gift-marriage, service-marriage, child-betrothals, duty-marriage (levirate), money-marriage, and love-marriage.

Though most of these examples are easily understandable without further explanation, the following must be mentioned: In *exchange-marriage* the bride was exchanged for another woman, generally the sister of the suitor; in *gift-marriage* the father-in-law receives a present from the suitor, which increases the price of a *purchase-marriage*. *Dowry-marriage*, on the other hand, consists in the bride's father endowing her with a trousseau, which becomes the principal thing in a *money-marriage*. In *child-betrothals* the future couple are designated for each other as children by their parents. Such an external arrangement takes place also in a *duty-marriage*: for instance, a man is in duty bound to marry the widow of his dead brother; or the murderer of a man must take the widow of the murdered to wife. Finally, *love-marriage* implies free choice and mutual inclination without any other motives playing a part. Naturally, these love-marriages can be encountered in combination with all other forms, even with duty-marriage and marriage by capture.

These forms of obtaining wives are of diverse ages; they appear sometimes beside, sometimes after one another, in the evolution of civilization, and are especially characteristic of the different epochs.

Epoch I. Variety of Forms

Let us now seek to find which of these forms appear in the first epoch, and to do so we turn back to the lowest culture known to us—that of the "lower hunters", where we find a strikingly large variety of forms among different tribes, as well as often within the same tribe. Thus we find gift-marriage and love-marriage among the Bushmen and among the African Pygmies, who also have purchase-marriage; and with the Negritoes of the Philippines there is marriage for choice, gift, purchase, and dowry. Among the Andamanese, beside love-marriages appear levirate marriages and child betrothals.[1] Among the Australians marriage by exchange is especially prevalent, and also child-, gift-, and capture-marriage.

Let us now run through the various forms separately, and begin with marriage by capture, since, according to many sociologists, this is not only the oldest form of wooing, but the very origin of marriage.[2] According to these theories or hypotheses marriage was originally only the enslavement of woman by man, and was instigated by capture. Since on the lowest steps of culture woman was valued above all as a worker, and since wealth had not yet been created by commerce and money, it was very natural to obtain possession of a woman by capture. Moreover, since the sexual instinct of man is exogamous,[3] his desire for strange women could scarcely be satisfied in any other way than by violent seizure, as the individual tribes were originally foreign and inimical to one another. Since wars were waged for plunder and the female slave was the most costly and indispensable possession of primitive man, it is quite understandable that this robbery should have been very prevalent among peoples of low civilization.[4]

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[1] A detailed discussion of the Pygmies is found in P. Wilhelm Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*, Stuttgart, 1910, pp. 169 ff.

[2] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 263.

[3] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 37 ff.

[4] Literature in Post, *Ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, i. 261–273; Kulischer, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnolog.*, 10th vol.; Kohler, *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, v. 334–368; Dargun, *Mutterrecht u. Raubehe u. ihre Reste im german. Recht u. Leben*, p. 80; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, chap. xvii; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung u. Urgeschichte*, 3rd ed., 1907, p. 321; see also the relevant chapters in the works of McLennan, Lubbock, Tylor, Lippert, Spencer, etc.

The rape of the Sabines is well known to history, and the rape of Helen which resulted in the Trojan War; these examples, however, are only echoes of the time when capture was a common custom in all parts of the world and among all peoples. For example, Bishop Nixon wrote of the Tasmanians that they hardly ever took wives from their own tribes, they were much more apt to take them by force, clandestine or open, from neighbouring tribes, with whom they were incessantly in a state of war.[1] The Caribs used to kill only the men of conquered peoples and take the women for wives, which resulted in the men and the women speaking different languages.[2] David Collins says[3] of the Australians dwelling in the environs of Sydney that they take their women from neighbouring tribes by preference, and this capture is inordinately ferocious. The unhappy girl is stunned by heavy blows of a club and dragged away. Her relatives do not generally avenge this outrage, but rather seek to indemnify themselves by a similar rape as soon as the opportunity offers. "The custom is so common among them that even the children imitate this practice in their play." Waitz goes on to say that capture is very prevalent in Polynesia, the battles there being so strenuous that the girl is often injured or even killed. The Bible also recognizes marriage by capture. For instance, in the Book of Judges[4] it is told how the sons of Benjamin lay in wait in the vineyards of the daughters of Shiloh, fell upon them in the dance and caught them in order to marry them.[5] In India, according to the laws of Manu, there were eight different forms of concluding marriage, among them that of capture (Rakchasas); this consisted in the "shrieking and weeping girl being snatched away from her father's house after her protector had been killed or wounded and the walls broken down". This form, however, was only permitted to the warrior caste, the Kschatriyas; to other castes, even the Brahmins, it was positively forbidden.[1] In ancient Greece and Rome[2], as well as by our own Germanic forefathers, capture was considered praiseworthy and heroic. The old songs of the Scandinavian bards resound with such abduction battles.[3] To rob the enemy of his bride, wife, or daughter and then to marry her was looked upon as a regular way of concluding marriage. Capture, betrothals, and weddings come into the Nordic Sagas as occasion offers. In German, the expression "Brautlauf" was originally used, which, according to Zarncke, meant the abduction of the bride[4]; and in Greek the word for wife is "damar", which is equivalent to prisoner of war or slave (*damazein* means to overpower). According to Kraufs,[5] marriages by capture occurred among the Southern Slavs even in the beginning of the present century. Of course, capture of women was everywhere severely punished, i.e. whenever the robber could be caught,[6] and between foreign tribes it gave occasion for endless strife.

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[1] R. Nixon, *The Cruise of the Beacon*, London, 1857, pp. 26, 27.

[2] Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvôlker*, iii. 355.

[3] *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, London, 1804, p. 368.

[4] xxi. 20–23.

[5] Cf. also Deuteronomy xx. 12–14, and xxi. 10–14.

Even after marriage by capture had ceased to exist, there remained many survivals of it in marriage ceremonies in the form of "mock capture", "symbolical capture", and "wedding plays". In Sparta it was the custom for friends of the bridegroom to pretend to carry off the bride by force. Even in Plutarch's time it was customary for the bride to take refuge in her mother's lap, whence she was led away by the groom and his friends.[7] Moreover, the bride did not cross the threshold by herself, but was lifted over by the groom, "because (as Plutarch says) in the rape of the Sabines they were brought by force". In many civilized countries these wedding plays have kept up until our own times. Thus in Salzburg, for instance, the bridegroom commissions an armed troop (bride escort) to fetch the bride to his house; in Schwabia, in the Hartfeld, a stormy abduction of the bride by friends of the groom takes place, although naturally everything has been amicably settled beforehand.[1]

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[1] A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Manava-Dharma-Sastra.* Lois de Manou, 3rd Bk., pp. 20–23. In *Les Livres Sacres de l'Orient,* traduits et corriges par G. Pauthier, Paris, 1852.

[2] Ortolan, *Histoire de la Legislation Romaine*, p. 81.

[3] Dargun, *Mutterrecht u. Raubehe*, pp. 111–40; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertumer*, 4th ed., i. 533; Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, pp. 308–10; K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 111, etc.

[4] Cf. Kreigk, *Deutsches Bürgertum im Mittelalter, n. F.*, Frankfurt a. M., 1871, p. 221; Kunze, *Zur Kunde des deutschen Privatslebens in der Zeit der sälischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1902, p. 45.

[5] Friedrich S. Kraufs, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslawen*, chap. xiv.

[6] Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*

[7] Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 329.

Some authorities maintain that these wedding plays should not be taken as echoes or "survivals" of ancient capture, but that they seem rather to symbolize the "maidenly modesty" and sorrow of the bride on leaving her parents' home. This theory, which has already been refuted by Lubbock,[2] hardly makes the above facts sufficiently clear, nor does it rest upon a knowledge of the character of natural man. Moreover, customs connected with marriage are long and tenaciously preserved in ceremonies, as is shown by the fact that among many peoples parents must not speak to the son-in-law and seek to avoid him as much as possible.[3] This strange custom, too, is easily seen to be an echo of the time of marriage by capture.

Besides marriage by capture we find exchange-marriage and service-marriage already established in the lowest known cultural stages.[4] It must be understood that capture is not the only way of obtaining a wife in any civilization. It has therefore been maintained that marriage by capture should not be considered the preliminary step to any other form of marriage. This opinion is not altogether correct, for we can see how, among the Australian negroes for example, exogamous exchange-marriage has developed step by step from marriage by capture.[1] This exogamous exchange-marriage consists in the suitor giving his sister or relative in exchange for the bride.[2] In the same way as exchange of goods—the first commerce—developed from theft of goods, so exchange of women between neighbouring tribes grew out of theft of women. Since every theft kindled the wrath of the victims and resulted in endless feuds and battles, man had sooner or later to discover that friendly exchange was more advantageous and practical than violent robbery. Exchange of women led to the peaceful alliance of separate tribes into a great whole through the system of exogamy, and thereby, as we have shown elsewhere,[3] the first step was taken by primitive tribes on the long road towards the great modern State. Thus the evolution from capture- to exchange-marriage was sociologically of greatest importance.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 185. On symbolical robbery in Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, cf. de Gaya, *Cérémonies nuptiales de toutes les Nations*, Paris, 1681, p. 15.

[2] *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 100.

[3] Cf. Lubbock, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[4] Literature in Post, *Ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, i. 317.

Service-marriage was likewise the result of a similar endeavour. This kind of marriage is familiar to everyone, from the Bible story of Jacob, who served seven years for Rachel. The custom of serving the father-in-law for a wife is common everywhere among peoples who do not as yet possess the wealth which would enable the suitor to buy a wife.[4] This is the case among the Bushmen, Australians, and many Indian and Hindu peoples. Among the Fuegians, the son-in-law has to help the father-in-law to build a canoe as service for the bride, and among the Bushmen he has to help in the hunting. In many American tribes the suitor must move to the father-in-law's house and there serve as a servant for his bride. The Germans also had this service-marriage. In the Eyrbyggjasaga, Vîgstir said to the Berserker Halli, who wooed his daughter, Âsdîs: "Since thou art poor, I will do according to the old custom and let thee earn a wedding by mighty labour".[5]

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[1] Cf. Heinrich Cunow, *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe u. der Familie*, Stuttgart, 1912, p. 31.

[2] Cf. Cunow, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisationen der Australneger*, Stuttgart, 1894.

[3] *Die Familie*, pp. 60, 69.

[4] Literature in Post, *loc. cit.*, p. 318; Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii. 335; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, chap. xvii.

[5] Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, Berlin, 1856, p. 242.

Service-marriage in the lower agricultural stages led to "mother-right". Since the man moved into the woman's family, he was surrounded by maternal relatives, and the woman thus became the pivot of the social organization. Purchase-marriage, which now followed, led back again to father-right. The struggle which originated in the late clan phase between mother-right and father-right—from Ambilanak by way of Semando to Dschudschur—and which led to the triumph of patriarchy, has already been described in more detail.[1]

EPOCH II. PURCHASE- AND DOWRY-MARRIAGE

Purchase-marriage leads us over into a new geneonomic period—the family epoch,[2] but its foundations extend very far back. Gift-marriage, which is closely related to purchase-marriage, already existed (as has been stated above) in the early clan phase, and purchase-marriage in individual cases is well established by the beginning of the high clan phase, and becomes especially characteristic of the early family phase. Commerce, industry, and stock raising led to the rise of wealth, and this wealth lay exclusively in the hands of man, because man, not woman, was the first merchant, tradesman, and herdsman. Thus the man did not have to serve for his wife any more, but bought her from his father-in-law. This change took place in the late clan phase, where service- and purchase-marriage were found together at the same time—service-marriage being used by the poor, and purchase-marriage by the rich. Powers, for instance, says of the Koaks in California that a marriage without a payment is not considered legal. "But if a young Indian falls in love with a girl and does not want to wait until he has collected the amount of wampum demanded by her father, he is allowed to pay half the amount, and in the interim to become 'half-married'. Instead of taking the girl to his hut and making her his slave, he has to live in her hut and become her slave."[1]

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[1] *Die Familie.*

[2] Literary classification in Post, *Ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, i. 286–317.

With increasing wealth, service-marriage was more and more replaced by purchase-marriage. By purchase, woman was lowered to the status of a piece of goods and became man's property, but at the same time purchasing the wife gave marriage more power and permanency. Man no longer so readily decided to divorce his wife, because the purchase price would have been forfeited. The price of the bride varied with the economic circumstances of the various cultural stages. It was paid mostly in money, shell-strings, rugs, horses, cattle, slaves, etc. This variation had wide limits[2]; for instance, a woman costs—

the Hottentots: an ox or a cow;
the Croo: 3 cows and a sheep;
the Kaffirs: 6 to 30 head of cattle according to the father's rank;
the Bongos: 20 lb. of iron and 20 lance points (old women come cheaper);
the Togos: 16 dollars cash and 6 dollars in goods;
the Gallina: 40 to 60 marks.

In Kamerun a prince's daughter costs 6,000 "bars" (namely, 6,000 shillings), a common bride costs up to 2,000, slaves up to 800 bars. At the same time women were used as a sort of natural currency. "In women", says Büchner, "all larger payments were discharged and distinctions were made in her value according to her position."[3]

Among Asiatic Nomads (Kalmuks, Kurds, Tartars, etc.), the price of a bride (*kalym*) is often very high: 90 four-year-old horses, 90 four-year-old sheep, and as many four-year-old camels. Among the Tungus a girl costs 20 reindeer, while a widow is considerably cheaper; on the other hand, the Turcoman pays only 5 camels for a girl and 50 for a widow.

In China the average price for a girl is 300 taels (some

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[1] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, iii. 56.

[2] Cf. Hellwald, *Menschl. Fam.*, p. 306.

[3] M. Büchner, *Kamerun*, p. 30.

1,800 marks), while in India only one yoke of oxen was given. Also purchase-marriage was found among the Hebrews and Germans. The prophet Hosea paid 50 shekels for his wife, half in ready money and half in barley. A noble Friesian woman brought 8 lb. 8 oz. (8 shillings, 8 pence); among the Longobards the cost was not supposed to exceed the tenth part of the bridegroom's means; among the Allemanni it amounted to 40 solidi, etc.[1] The German word *heiraten* (marry) comes from *heuren tun*, which means the same as to hire or to buy.[2]

Market-Marriage

Among many peoples marriageable girls were simply brought to market and there openly bought or auctioned. Such a marriage market was found in Babylon by Herodotus, who describes the proceedings as follows[3]: "In my description of their laws, I have to mention one the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneti, who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of their several districts this custom was every year observed: such of their virgins as were marriageable were at an appointed time and place assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction the young women one by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and as may be supposed for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the most beautiful; those of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but little occasion for personal accomplishments, were content to receive the more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected next the most ugly, or one that was deformed; she also was put up for sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter. . . . There were no restrictions with regard to residence; those of another village might also become purchasers". Among the Arabian Asyr tribes, according to Burckhardt, it was customary to "bring marriageable daughters to market in their best dresses, and there to walk up and down before them, crying, 'Who will buy the maiden?' The bargain was then concluded in the form of a purchase, even if it had been previously arranged, and no girl could be married in any other way".[1]

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[1] Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 320.

[2] On the significance of the wedding-ring and the bridal veil, see *Die Familie*, p. 187.

[3] i. 267, trans. by William Beloe.

Among most civilized peoples, with some even in semi-historical times, purchase-marriage grew into dowry-marriage.

In India purchase-marriage (Assura) was formerly very generally practised. Then it was forbidden to the two upper castes, the Brahmans and Kschatriyas, and was only permitted to the two lower castes, the Vaisya and Soudra (Vers 24). The Manu Law (Vers 25) abolished it for all castes.[2] Among the Greeks of the Homeric era the father often made over a part of the wedding present to his daughter as a dowry, and in historical times purchase-marriage had ceased to exist. In Rome purchase of women among the patricians had already fallen into disrepute in the oldest period of the city. Among the Germanic nations this way of concluding marriage still existed as true purchase-marriage with the Saxons, Visigoths, Burgundians, Longobards, Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, and only disappeared with the spread of Christianity.[3] The old custom was first forbidden the Anglo-Saxons King by Canute.

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[1] John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829, vol. ii, App. 2, p. 379.

[2] A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Les Lois de Manou*, *op. cit.*, 3rd Bk., Vers. 20–31; cf. also Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die romische Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1853, p. 211.

[3] Rossbach, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

In conservative China purchase-marriage is commonly practised even now.[1]

The change from purchase- to dowry-marriage[2] was accomplished in somewhat the following manner: The purchase of woman had stamped her as a piece of goods. The fathers, whose sentiment was refined by growing culture, were the first to rebel against this barbarous conception, as they did not wish to think of their daughters being treated as wares. The upper classes took the first step [3] by renouncing the purchase price either wholly or in part and bestowing it upon the daughter, thereby assuring her certain rights in her husband's house by dividing it, etc. (so-called contract-marriages).[4] In a second phase of development the bridegroom himself gives the present to his wife and the father furnishes her with a trousseau, often with the idea that his daughter shall at least be distinguished from concubines by this endowment. Purchase becomes only a symbol; one or more coins (paid to the father-in-law) comprise the price of the bride. In a third phase the symbol too disappeared from the ceremony, the purchase was felt to be a barbarism, and at last was legally banned; while the dowry, the gift to the daughter, became a legal duty, as was the case among the Romans at the time of Augustus. Thus dowry-marriage evolved from purchase-marriage; the higher classes, patricians, Brahmans, etc., led the way, and the great mass followed after.

Dowry-marriage, among many peoples of the family epoch, developed into money- or goods-marriage. In these times the choice of spouse was, as has already been shown, a family matter, and as such an affair of the parents. Above everything else, the parents saw to it that money matched money and acre acre. The individualities of the future pair was a secondary consideration. Individualism was as yet but weakly developed —not enough for marriage to resist the old ideas except in occasional isolated cases. But poetry—always the pioneer in cultural evolution—used to take the part of unhappy lovers in their struggle against the economic notions of their elders.

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[1] Cf. Eugene Simon, *La Cité Chinoise*.

[2] Cf. also Marianne Weber, *Ehefrau u. Mutter in der Rechtentwicklung*, Tubingen, 1907, pp. 109–97.

[3] Cf. for example Joh. L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungungen über die Beduinen und Wahaby, gesammelt während einer Reise im Morgenlande*, Weimar, 1831, p. 212.

[4] Grimm. *loc. cit.*, p. 423; Weinhold, *D. D. Frauen*, pp. 212, 213.

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EPOCH III. MARRIAGE OF INCLINATION, OR LOVE-MARRIAGE

In the new geneonomic period now dawning, in the commencing personal epoch, public opinion has changed once more. Marriage for money, to be sure, is often practised, but it is increasingly condemned by general sentiment, and—as in the foregoing period of purchase-marriage, which it closely resembles—is felt to be barbarous and odious. It is a mistake to believe that marriage for money is an invention of our "age of Mammon", and that the good old times were free from it. Quite the contrary, marriage for money and possessions was formerly the usual thing, the understood thing, and, as we have already seen, it had to be so as long as marriage was a family affair; just as even now "acre weds acre" among peasant populations. In this connection it is characteristic that individual, the so-called "romantic", love when it first awoke in the time of the minnesingers, was as a rule *not* directed towards a man's own wife, nor even towards the woman he hoped to marry, but towards another woman, especially another man's wife. For in marriage the economic interests of the family and kin were considered before everything else, while love, on the other hand, was an attempt to accentuate the interests of the individual. However, individualism becomes greatly strengthened hand in hand with the disintegration of the family and differentiation among women; in consequence of this process of differentiation, love and marriage, as we have already seen, are becoming more and more free from economic bonds.[1] Thus we see marriage for money gradually change into marriage for love. This development lies in the "directional line of progress"; it will probably become disseminated in proportion as woman becomes economically independent, i.e. as differentiation among women advances.[2]

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If we examine this course of evolution we find a very interesting condition. Whereas, in many different phases of civilization, evolution is towards an ever-increasing multiplicity and variety of form, here we see the exact opposite.

In the first epoch we find almost all forms of marriage already established: purchase-, exchange-, service-, duty-dowry-, and love-marriage, and child-betrothal.

The second epoch is particularly characterized by purchase-, dowry-, and money-marriage, with all of which, of course, marriage for love was frequently combined.

In the advancing third epoch, inclination- and dowry-marriage appear to take the dominant position, while purchase-marriage has entirely died out, and marriage for money is falling more and more into disfavour.

Here, then, we have at hand a clear "directional line". On the lower cultural stages we find a great variety of form, and further evolution consists in gradually weeding out the lower forms. Instead of divergence, there is in this case a manifest convergence, even though the point of convergence be not completely attained, and hence can be treated only as an ideal goal.

[1] Cf. *Die Familie.*

[2] Cf. *History of Social Development*, pp. 213–31.

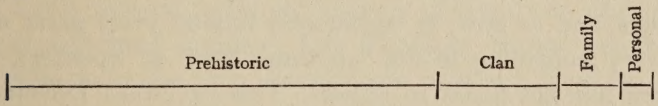
CHAPTER IV

PHASES OF MARRIAGE[1]

> The recognition of truth at first often excites alarm, but it always brings enhancement and elevation to existence.

Remote Antiquity[2]

We know nothing definite about the rise of marriage nor about geneonomic conditions in primeval times. This great gap in our knowledge is deplorable, since the prehistoric period under any circumstances must be considered to transcend widely both in significance and duration all later epochs of civilization. In this period the first distinctive achievements of civilization were made; speech was invented, fire was first put to use, and man was moulded to the "eternal type" that he has remained ever since, in so far as *inborn* characteristics are concerned.[3] Also in regard to its duration this prehistoric period is significantly more extensive than the following periods of evolution. The relative duration of the various phases may be illustrated by laying before us a metre rule and marking off the first 70 centimetres for prehistory, some 20 centimetres for the clan epoch, 10 centimetres for the family epoch, and only leaving the last few millimetres for the now dawning personal phase.



We have little or no knowledge, geneonomically speaking, of this whole hundred-thousand-year period, which was largely enacted while the world was still in the Tertiary Age, and came to an end, according to Klaatsch and Schoetensack, with the end of the Tertiary Age. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that opinions of scholars differ widely on marital conditions in the prehistoric period. There are two views in particular which are still contending at the present time. According to one, the older, man is monogamous by nature, and monogamous marriage, with the exception of some polygamous aberrations, has existed since man began. This view is corroborated by the authority of the Bible story of Adam and Eve, and for hundreds of years was the only one of importance. The opposite view first appears in the discoveries of Bachofen, which convinced him that mother-right and general prostitution, i.e. community of women, were the ancient geneonomic conditions. His theory was strengthened by the American Morgan, who discovered the classification system in the tribal organization of primitive man, i.e. that system in which one spoke of several people as father or mother. From this system Morgan drew the conclusion that partly promiscuity and partly group-marriage was the rule in antiquity. The work of Bachofen and Morgan is in agreement with a great number of eminent sociologists and ethnologists, McLennan, Lubbock, Lippert, Wilken, Kohler, Post, Bernhoft, Hellwald, Spencer, Ratzel, Achelis, Lamprecht, etc.

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[1] Cf. also F. Müller-Lyer, "Die Ehe, ihre Entwicklung u. Reform unter dem Gesichtspunkt des wirtschaftlichen und kulturlichen Fortschritts und der Rassenhygiene", in the compilation *Die Mutterschaft*, ed. by Adele Schreiber.

[2] Cf. *Die Familie.*

[3] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens.*

However, further investigations have shown that Bachofen and Morgan have founded too bold hypotheses on the existing facts, and so now, as legitimately follows every great new discovery (according to the "rhythmic law" of Spencer), the reaction has not failed to appear. This backward movement is brought out especially by Starcke, Westermarck, Grosse, Crawley, Andrew Lang, Atkinson, Northcote W. Thomas, Wilhelm Wundt, Forel, Kuhlenbeck, etc. And the reaction has gone so far that now several of the above writers have even reverted to the old Biblical point of view in which man was considered a being naturally inclined to monogamy. The more recent literature (Rivers, v. Reitzenstein, Lubbock, Buschan, Havelock Ellis, Cunow, Frazer, Hornes, Hartland, etc.) is hence endeavouring to separate the true from the false in Bachofen's and Morgan's theories, and to find the truth between these two extremes. We have already[1] discussed in detail the cardinal question as to whether primitive man is to be considered as belonging to the monogamous family animals or to the "herd animals", i.e. the social and polygamous species. So we must be content here to recapitulate briefly the most important grounds which speak for and against these views.

Grounds for Monogamous Marriage in Antiquity

First, it has been asserted (Westermarck, Atkinson, and others) that the animal species most closely related to man, namely, the anthropoid apes (especially the gorilla and the chimpanzee), do not live socially but in separate families.[2] That man is descended in a direct line from the anthropoids is a hypothesis that has been dropped long ago. We have become convinced that the apes resembling man are only laterally related to man; they are cousins, not grandparents. And the conclusion is obvious that these apes, for the very reason that they lacked the gregarious bond and social instinct and were therefore incapable of acquiring culture, have remained only apes.

Secondly, it has been maintained that wild tribes living on the lower cultural levels are likewise ungregarious and live in single separated families. But ethnology shows exactly the opposite to be the case. Everywhere men live in *social groups*—in hordes, even in the most unfertile regions, where the search for food would most naturally force them to disperse. On this point the observations of all travellers who have come to know the lowest races (the Bushmen, Eskimos, Fuegians, Australian negroes, Andamanese, Vedda, etc.) leave no doubt.

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[1] *Die Familie.*

[2] More details in *Die Familie*, pp. 11–37.

Thirdly, it is quite correct that among all these wild peoples the horde consists of separate families. And since the prehistoric period is not definitely separated from the clan phase, it is believed that the particular family within the horde must have existed from time immemorial. This conclusion is just as false as if one deduced that the art of using fire has always been known from the fact that all wild peoples know fire, or as if one should say that concubinage had been forbidden in the Middle Ages because it happened to be banned among all *Europeans*.

It has further been maintained that the great mass of primitive peoples (with few exceptions) live monogamous lives. Here again we have a confusion of two ideas, namely, monogamy (of the civilized) and mating or syndyasmy (of the primitive). Among most primitives *optional polygyny* is encountered, but since only the rich have the means to keep a number of wives, the great mass of the people must manage with one ("monogamy of necessity"). Nevertheless, they do this "in obedience to necessity and not of their own volition"; and it would be just as wrong to deduce from this an inborn propensity towards monogamy as to draw the conclusion that Europeans have an inborn aversion to wealth from the fact that most Europeans are impecunious.

Also it has been considered important (Atkinson) that men after all look upon each other with hostility and envy, that, in so far as they are able, they absent themselves from the general group and live in their own particular families, concerning themselves with others as little as possible. The fact is, however, that the social instinct is especially strong with primitives, that aloneness is a punishment to most natural people, and that the desire to withdraw first arose in higher civilizations where it was particularly furthered by the anti-social bringing up of families and by the class system. Moreover, all ethnological studies and even daily observations show that the desire to withdraw is not primary, but arose later. "Common man", the peasant, the workman, everywhere tries to join forces, while the bourgeois, for instance in a restaurant, is anxiously concerned with obtaining a special dish for himself and his family alone.[1]

Finally, it has been declared that the number of men and women is generally the same, and hence monogamy is plainly in "the plan of nature". But the number of men and women is by no means the same with all peoples; for instance, Cook in 1774 found on Easter Island in the Oceanides only thirty women to seven hundred men, while Senft, in Ululssi, one of the West Caroline Island group, counted about three hundred and twenty grown women and girls and only two hundred men.[2] Such numerical inequalities are unimportant, and even an actual equality would not mean that polygamy and polyandry were excluded from "Nature's plan", since it is quite clear that ten women and ten men can live together in a group-marriage as well as monogamously.

Let us now review the arguments against the theory that primitive man or pre-man was a monogamous family animal, so that we may consider it assured that the early forefathers of man were social animals.

Language alone shows the social origin of the human race. Since speech is communication, it would be impossible for unsocial animals to have developed it to those highly articulate forms which are encountered among the very lowest primitives.

Now, since by speech pre-man first became man, it is indubitable that not only ancient man but also pre-man must have been a social being.[3]

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[1] Schopenhauer calls man "a race of whom the great majority are boundlessly egotistical, unjust, unfair, dishonest, envious, and malicious, which makes them very limited and peculiar". But none of these attributes argues against man's social origin, since envy, maliciousness, and ill-will are found strongly developed among other social animals, especially the social apes. That man by nature is evil and malicious was, moreover, one of the more common "folk ideas" of the high family phase which was even systematized by its religion. (Cf. the doctrines of original sin, salvation, etc.)

[2] Cf. H. Berkusky, *Volksvermehrung u. Volksverminderung bei den Naturvolkern u. ihre Ursachen. Zeitschr. f. Sozialwissenschaft*, neue Folge, I Jahrg, Leipzig, 1910, p. 658.

[3] Cf. *History of Social Development*, pp. 28 ff.; cf. also Rene Worms, *Philosophie des Sciences Sociales*, Paris, 1903, i. 48: "Il est reconnu maintenant par tous que le langage n'a pu se former qu'au cours de la vie

Like language, civilization cannot arise except within a social race. Civilization is the result of the working together of thinking and speaking beings; man's power consists in uniting many individuals into a sort of higher organism. In individual monogamous families where the young separate from the old as soon as they are fledged, civilization can neither commence nor develop because the most important condition is lacking, namely, continuity, which alone can lead to an accumulation of cultural experience.[1]

Further, the social instincts of man are inborn. Observation of children as well as savages shows this. Everywhere, even among the wildest tribes, social comrades hold fast together and instinctively subordinate themselves to the herd law. And while a feeling for family life is often but little cultivated, particularly in men, we find a spirit of solidarity with social and moral virtues developed to a remarkable degree even on the lowest steps of culture.[2]

These and other facts[3] positively assure us that ancient man is descended from *social* animals, and under no circumstances from monogamous family animals that live apart from the herd.

And it is equally certain that man is not naturally inclined towards monogamy, but towards polygamy (and exogamy).

The psychology of primitive love, of which we learned in the first chapter, has already pointed in this direction. That the man who knows neither sexual jealousy nor personal (individual choice) passionate love, who prizes neither sexual chastity nor sexual modesty, nor the reality of fatherhood, cannot be monogamously inclined is plain to be seen. And the entire history of sexual life—community of unmarried women, the feast

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sociale". The social origin of language was even understood by Chr. Thomasius. He says: "Sermonis extra societatem nullus est usus". (*Institutionum jurisprudentiæ divinæ libri tres.*, 1688, iii. 1, 4, 54.)

[1] Cf. *History of Social Development.*

[2] Cf. K. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*; Vierkandt, *Die primäre Sittlichkeit der Naturvölker; Globus*, 76 vol., 1899, p. 149; Felix Somlo, *Der wirtschaftliche Urxustand*, *Monatschrift für Soziologie*, March 1909.

[3] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 12 f.

orgies which take place with so many primitives, the history of prostitution, the *philoneism* of youth, and so many other manifestations of which we have spoken elsewhere in more detail[1]—all lead to the assumption that man is naturally polygamous and exogamous, and that the desire for monogamy is a result of civilization.

However, Wilhelm Wundt has recently presented an objection to this theory which, out of consideration for the authority of his learning, must be submitted to inspection.

Wundt believes that primitive man is actually to be seen at the present time. He says this term may be applied to those peoples "who apparently have remained many centuries cut off and isolated from the civilization of the rest of the world and are still in the same primitive stages". To these peoples belong especially the inland tribes of the Malay Peninsula, the Semang and Senoi, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Negritos of the Philippines and Central Africa, and finally, to a certain extent, the Bushmen. According to Wundt, these peoples, generally speaking, come very near the lowest limit of a possible civilization. With the exception of bows and arrows, their tools are almost exclusively derived directly from Nature. Only the art of making fire separates the men from animals. Moreover, Wundt says that among all these peoples lifelong monogamy is the rule, and that it is the only form of marriage; and this monogamy has been carried over to them from pre-man in a somewhat similar form to that existing among the present anthropoid apes.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 20–40.

[2] The material on which the Wundtian argument is based is collected in very serviceable form by Father Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., in his book, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menscheit.* In *Studien u. Forschungen zur Menschen- u. Völkerkunde, unter wissenschaftlicher Leitung von Georg Buschan*, vi, vii, Stuttgart, 1910. Schmidt, who also reckons the Andamanese with the peoples specified, carries his conclusions a step further than Wundt even; he maintains that these pygmean "ancient races" are not only monogamous, but to a certain extent are also monotheistic (p. 242). As a proof he brings forward the following myth of the Andamanese. The highest being, Puluga (also Bilik), first created man (Tomo). He placed him in a paradise full of fruit-trees, but forbade him to

However, if we give closer consideration to these ancient peoples, we must arrive at quite contrary conclusions.

Fire.—Primarily we are struck by the fact that these peoples all possess the art of kindling fire, or at least of keeping it and turning it to the preparation of food, etc. The Semang make fire by rubbing and fire-saws, the Central African Pygmies, according to Le Roy, make it both by striking a spark and by the fire-drill, etc.

It is plain that to make use of fire is the most important and wonderful advance made by primitive man, hence it is unthinkable that beings who are still close to animals could have made this discovery. It is comparatively simple to break off branches and convert them into sticks for fighting, digging, and throwing; but to tame fire brings out so many human qualities that it must be placed not at the beginning but at the end of the primeval period.[1] For when man discovered how to make fire he was already man, and far removed from an animal or semi-animal condition. The art of kindling fire, then, could not have belonged to the culture of primeval times. In a truly primeval horde one would expect to find a number of the most simple tools, but under no circumstances the art of making fire, which involved so much inventiveness, accuracy, and perseverance.

Instead of simple weapons and tools (clubs, javelins, throwing-sticks, etc.), we find among these alleged ancient peoples

eat a certain fruit. Then he created the first woman (Elewadi); another version says Tomo himself created her from a piece of wood. Later they forgot the command of Puluga: Puluga, enraged, sent a deluge in which everything perished, only two men and two women remained, who found themselves by chance in a boat. A bird brought them new fire from Puluga, since all other fires had been put out by the flood, etc. It is quite clear to the unprejudiced that this story is no elementary thought, but as Wundt also emphasizes, may be attributed to "transfer". The Andamanese were already known to the Arabs in the ninth century, and since then have been touched by many European ships. But the correspondent, E. H. Man, first came to these islands in 1869.

[1] Cf. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*; Weule, *Die Kultur der Kulturlosen*, pp. 60 ff.; *Das Feuer*. Cf. also *History of Social Development*, pp. 36 f.

the most evolved of all weapons—bows and arrows—and these in really great perfection. The bows are to some extent ingeniously curved to increase speed, the bowstring is skilfully fastened, the arrow is feathered, and has a point of hard wood so constructed that it breaks off in the wound, and, in addition, the tip is poisoned. It is hardly conceivable that beings who are just being converted from animals into men should have devised such an unusual collection of implements. Other weapons plainly must have preceded bows and arrows, probably javelins and the simpler forms of tools.

Comparative anthropology shows this also: the shooting bow has remained quite unknown to the Tasmanians and Australians in general, who have only attained the stage of javelins and throwing-sticks (boomerangs). But it is particularly noteworthy that these "primeval peoples" already are to some degree familiar with the art of pottery, of which neither the paleolithic peoples nor even the lower hunters have left any traces that have yet been found.[1] According to P. v. d. Burgt, the African Watwa manufactured pottery; also an elemental form of pottery is known to the Bushmen and the Andamanese, on the other hand, it is not known to the Semang nor the Negritos of the Philippines.[2]

Regarding the remainder of their tools, Wundt and Schmidt think that since these peoples possess no stone implements they must hence belong to a period preceding the Stone Age.

However, they have had commerce with their more highly civilized neighbours for a long time; the Vedda, for example, according to Sarasin, obtain their iron arrowheads and axes for game from the Cinghalese; the African Watwa are even excellent blacksmiths.[3] Perhaps they may formerly have had stone implements—at least such things were dug up from the ground near the Semangs.[4] The Bushmen, too, must earlier have had stone tools.[1] The Negritos in Hócós Horte had, among other things, firestones given to them in their graves.[2]

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[1] On pottery, cf. *History of Social Development*, pp. 82 ff.

[2] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

That there was so little use of stone is explained partly from the introduction of iron by trading, partly from the material offered by nature. For the height of any culture is not measured by whether its tools were of stone, bone, or wood, but by the amount of ingenuity involved in their making. Thus, for example, the Andamanese use almost no stone (only as anvils, hammers, whetstones, quartz splitters), although they have attained a remarkable degree of technical culture. They not only prepare different kinds of arrows for their bows, but also make spears with harpoons, fish-nets, cooking utensils, wooden pails, boats with outriggers, baskets, ornamental cords, plates, spoons, resinous torches, waterproof roofs, fly-brushes, cerates, colours, and many other things.[3] The limited use of stone is not in the remotest degree a proof that a civilization is pre-paleolithic.

Let us then compare these tribes with the other tribes of "lower hunters", and we find (what has long been known) that they are by no means on a lower level of culture than the latter; in respect to their artful hunting weapons they are even above the Tasmanians and Australians; they are higher than all the lower hunters in that some of them carry on the manufacture of pottery. According to their *material* culture, then, all these tribes must be counted as belonging to the "lower hunters".

Language

How is it with their spiritual culture? If they were really primeval people, we should hope that they would enable us to solve that extraordinarily difficult problem, the rise of language. But here we meet a strange disappointment. These peoples have completely taken over the language of their more highly civilized neighbours. The Vedda speak the language of the Cinghalese and Tamali; the Semang and Senoi, like the Negritos of the Philippines, speak that of the neighbouring Malays, and to all appearances the Central African Pygmies speak the language of the Monbuttu; finally, the Bushman's speech is very closely related to the Hottentot's. Moreover, the language appears to have been taken over at a much earlier period, so that the Pygmies speak a different dialect from their neighbours.[1] H. Kern agrees that this also might prove to be true of the Negritos of the Philippines.

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[1] W. Schmidt, p. 109.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 255.
[3] Cf. E. H. Man, *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883, pp. 175–87.

From this one fact it is clear that the Pygmies cannot be treated as "isolated peoples cut off from the rest of the world who have kept a wholly primitive culture". For all peoples cling to their own tongues with great tenacity, and a foreign language is an object of repugnance to them. No people would give up its language and exchange it for a foreign one unless they had lived in very intimate relations with these foreigners for a long time. It is obvious then that the Pygmies in earlier times must have had a totally different association with their neighbours than now, and there can be no talk of an undisturbed primitive culture. Rather, they have passed through an entire range of evolutionary phases, and have been strongly influenced by other peoples along the way.

Also, anthropologically speaking, the Pygmies should not be treated as a prehistoric race. Their diminutive stature, their simple habits, do not prove that they are the forerunners of all other races. For the oldest geological races (Neanderthals, Crapina, Spy, Gibraltar, Le Moustier, etc.) are of large or normal development, and not in the least dwarfish. Hence it is much more probable, as Schwalbe and E. Schmidt have shown,[2] that these Pygmies are undersized stunted races[3] that have degenerated from a larger human form under the pressure of thousands of years of unfavourable living conditions and under-nourishment. It is known that animals living for long periods of time on islands or in isolated places succumb to exactly the same deterioration (the Shetland pony, for example). Another argument for the view that the Pygmies are a stunted race is brought out by Man, who has shown what little power of procreation and reproduction the Andamanese display. Puberty is late, first appearing in the fifteenth or sixteenth year, and fertility is abnormally low; one family produces at the most only four children. Besides which the infant, and also the adult mortality, is so extraordinarily high that Man estimates their average age at only twenty-two years. The greatest age seen was fifty years, and there was no family known where more than three generations were living at once.[1] That such dwarfs are to be considered the ancestors of all mankind is in any case a very unfounded conjecture; it is much more probable that they have become dwarfed as a result of special conditions.

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[1] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Wundt, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[2] Schwalbe, *Zur Frage der Abstammung des Menschen*; *Globus*, lxxxviii, 1905, pp. 159 ff.

[3] K. Weule, *Die Kultur der Kulturlosen*, Stuttgart, 1910, p. 36.

In summing up, then, we come to the conclusion that the peoples named by Wundt as aboriginal or "primitive" cannot be so considered. Their culture, their language, their stock, speak decisively against such a view. They are not a transition race between animals and men, but fully developed men; they all belong to the group of "lower hunters" whose culture has already far surpassed that of primeval times. Hence we shall have to examine them later (in considering the early clan phase), and there we shall see how little their manners and customs—like those of any other people—point towards a natural inclination for monogamy. Rather we must conclude from the known facts that ancient man, that is primeval man, or, more accurately, our forefathers in the time when they underwent the change from animals to men, must have been *not monogamous family animals, but genuine herd animals with polygamous instincts.*

So much we must consider as established fact. But it is much more difficult to answer the question as to just what sexual relations may have been in antiquity. As we have seen in *Formen der Ehe*, *der Familie*, *und der Verwandschaft*, every possible form of sexual and marital relations has been used by man. While it was formerly believed that monogamy was the only "natural" form of marriage which had degenerated into polygamous aberrations among particular peoples, modern anthropology shows that at various stages of civilization there existed besides monogamy, pair-marriage, polyandry, i.e. the marriage of one woman with several men, group-marriage, a limited promiscuity, and polygamy, which is especially frequent among primitives.[1]

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[1] Cf. E. H. Man, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 and 13.

Hence the question naturally arises as to whether and how these forms may have succeeded each other in phases, which of them are the oldest and which the most recent.

Morgan, on the basis of his discoveries regarding systems of consanguinity, has attempted to trace back a succession of phases which the marriage form has undergone. These systems of consanguinity, which we shall have to consider more particularly in a later chapter (on kinship), bear an entirely different character from our classifications; thus, as has already been shown, in this system a person speaks of not only one father and mother as such, but several people are considered fathers and mothers. From the study of these systems Morgan has concluded that five forms of marriage have succeeded each other up to the present day.

1. In primeval times general promiscuity at first predominated.
2. Following this appear families related by blood which were founded on group-marriages of own brothers and sisters. This phase finds expression in the Malayan system of consanguinity.
3. This is joined by the Punalua marriage, which is group-marriage between collateral brothers and sisters, and corresponds to the Turanian kinship system.

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[1] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*, *der Familie*, *und der Verwandtschaft*.

4. On this, according to Morgan, followed as intermediary steps syndyasmy, or pair-marriage, and polygamous marriage (a privilege of wealth). Then with civilization first enters

5. Permanent monogamy as a general organization founded on marriage between one man and one woman under the assumption of complete lifelong fidelity (a characteristic lacking in pair-marriage).

However, these constructions of Morgan's, as we have already seen, have become a matter of severe contention among sociologists. And since they are built only upon the one point of consanguinity systems which can be presented and explained in different ways, they should be used to reconstruct prehistoric times only with the greatest prudence.

Next, it will appear from the foregoing chapters that love in the primeval periods must still have been of a wholly animal and herd character, and that individual monogamous marriage would appear very unlikely. Nevertheless, even though this period is not to be considered one of boundless promiscuity, we must refrain from drawing too definite conclusions. Moreover, the most recent work of Heinrich Cunow[1] has made it very questionable to conclude from these systems of consanguinity that group-marriage was ubiquitous in prehistoric times. For according to Cunow it is probable that these consanguinity systems on the whole are not concerned with individual blood relations, but are used rather to define the position of an individual in society and as a means of regulating marriage. Therefore, when an Australian points out several women as his mother, this does not mean that these assembled mothers were actually married to his father, but only that these "mothers" belong to that group of women whom his father *might* have married according to the marriage regulations.

The classified systems of consanguinity, then, are, according to Cunow, no proof that group-marriage must have existed among the peoples who used that sort of system. We also have to consider the fact that among the very peoples so classified some even now have true group-marriage, as the Australians and the Dravidians (the ancient inhabitants of India); some have true brother polyandry (India), some sister polygamy (among the Indians).[1] Morgan has shown that sister polygamy exists in no fewer than forty Indian tribes.[2] According to these customs, whoever married the oldest daughter of a family had the right to take all her younger sisters as additional wives as soon as they were old enough. This also happens even in cases where custom does not compel it. Brother polyandry also is found, especially in India,[3] wherein one woman is married to several brothers. There has been an attempt to explain these polyandric marriages on the ground of poverty, for with poor people it is easier for several men to procure the price of a bride than for one. But only in occasional instances do the facts confirm this theory, as polyandry is practised also by the rich. Rousselet's[4] view is the more probable. He concluded, from the wide prevalence of these forms of marriage among the early Dravidians, that they were affiliated with an ancient organization which seemed to be more powerful before the Aryan migration in India than at the present time.

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[1] *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe und Familie, Ergänzungsheft der Neuen Zeit*, Nr. 14, Stuttgart, 1912. In this work—the first since Jos. Kohler's *Urgeschichte der Ehe* (1897!)—the weighty theory of consanguinity systems is submitted to a fundamental and consequential revision.

On a closer consideration of the above it must be recognized that up to the present time we have no certain knowledge of the sociological position of group-marriage and polyandry. It seems probable that these lower forms were formerly more prevalent than now, and that among many peoples there are still traces of them to be found even in recent times. Discoveries have been made of ancient peoples, especially of the ancient Oriental peoples, which support the latter theory. Of these we shall speak later. Among other peoples, however, separate marriages put in appearance early. The explanation of this will be found when we proceed to the study of the early clan phase.

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[1] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*, 3rd chap.; cf. especially the thorough investigations of Jos. Kohler, *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe*, *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, 12 Bd., 1897.

[2] *Primitive Society*, p. 135.

[3] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*.

[4] *Ibid.*

EARLY CLAN PHASE

Although the representatives of prehistoric times have long since become extinct, there are a number of peoples of the Stone Age known to sociology who belong to the early clan period. These are the peoples who neither till the land nor breed cattle, who get their sustenance from hunting and from wild plants. They are the peoples "on the edge of humanity", who live in the deserts, the primeval forests, and the Arctic; in short, those who inhabit the most unfertile and remote corners of the earth. The most important of these, the peoples on the lowest cultural level known, are the Australians and Tasmanians, the Bushmen, the Central African Pygmies, the mountain Vedda of Ceylon, the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, the Aeta of the Philippines, the Fuegians, the Eskimos, many Californian tribes, etc.[1]

Although among all these peoples we find separate marriages and families already established,[2] nevertheless we can obtain a very clear picture of the general trend from a comparison of the marriage laws of different peoples. Let us begin with the Pygmies, who, as we have already seen, have recently been the occasion of such daring speculation.[3] Unfortunately, we still have very little information about these tribes, with the exception of the South Andamanese and the Bushmen. The reports are partly contradictory, inaccurate, unreliable, and fragmentary. It is easily understood that the intimate sexual life of these shy and suspicious peoples living in inaccessible jungles is very difficult to observe. A great deal of the information needed to give a decisive answer to our question must necessarily remain concealed from the questions of "authorities" on more or less fleeting visits. Nevertheless, our present knowledge gives us an outline sketch which is worthy of belief in that it agrees with those traits that we know to be characteristic of the "lower hunters". In the first place, all these peoples live in hordes, i.e. in social bonds, and have more or less permanent separate marriages and individual families. Families living apart from the horde are not seen. Now let us turn to particular tribes. D. H. Worcester[1] says of the Philippine Negritos in general: "Practically speaking, the Negritos are generally monogamous, but they allow polygamy and often honour it". The cause of monogamy is often the impossibility of feeding more than one wife. Divorce, according to A. W. Reed, is not frequent, although there is free separation.[2] Among many tribes, e.g. the Dumagat, marriage can only be dissolved by death. The woman, according to Schadenburg,[3] "takes an inferior position, and is treated more like a piece of goods. On her devolve the household duties, while the men go hunting". Adultery is punished by death. Opinions differ on pre-marital intercourse among Negritos.[4] Optional polygamy is general among the Bushmen also. Many take three or four wives; the younger ones are usually contented with one, but take another younger wife when they get older.[5] According to Stow[6] marriages are easily broken. There has been little investigation as yet of the marriage customs of the Semang. Skeat and Blagden [7] say that "great pre-marital licence" prevails among them; "but everything seems to point to the fact that once married all the Semang of both sexes are to the greater extent true to each other, and cases of infidelity are extremely rare". Adultery is punished by death, though the death sentence can be commuted by a money (?) payment.[1] Reports on the Central African Pygmies are fairly diverse. According to Hutereau the majority of Batua of Tanganyika do not live polygamous lives,[2] and according to Johnston the Pygmies of the Congo Forest seldom marry more than one wife.[3] "The Watwa, who are allowed several wives, but who are too poor to support them, rarely have more than one", says P. v. d. Burgt.[4] According to Le Roy,[5] monogamy exists, in fact, in the majority of villages, but whenever it is possible for one or another to support a second or third wife, he usually does so. Optional polygamy, then, is the general rule; "only the Wambutti of Ituri look with disgust on the existence of polygamy among them".[6] According to Hutereau pre-marital intercourse is customary. Girls of extreme youth have intercourse with men.[7] According to Le Roy, the Central African Pygmies are no "paragons of virtue", and "certain gestures performed in their villages were most unseemly".[8] Also Stuhlmann gives out that the marriages of the Watwa are very slack.[9] Among the Batua adultery with relatives is not punishable, but with non-relatives dissolution[10] of the marriage can follow at the desire of one or both parties or of the father-in-law.[11] The women, at least according to Hutereau, are said to practise abortion by means of herbs, with no objections on the part of their husbands. In regard to the position of the women, we learn that the Watwa consider their wives as slaves; they do not eat with their husbands, and work almost continuously, while the men do only the lighter work and go hunting.[1] But in general the women here are treated rather better than those of the neighbouring negro peoples. Among the Vedda, on the other hand, Sarasin says that permanent monogamy is the rule, as it is among the South Andamanese observed by E. H. Man. According to Man,[2] as well as Portman,[3] however, lack of chastity among the unmarried is general. "Should a girl become pregnant, her protector demands the name of the man responsible; and whether or not this is easy to ascertain with certainty, there is never any difficulty in persuading the lover she has named to marry her."[4] Nevertheless, as soon as the wedding has taken place, husband and wife are faithful to each other; polygamy is unknown, as is divorce whenever there is a child. According to Portman,[5] "the wives are practically slaves to their husbands, for whom they carry on all kinds of heavy work". Man, however, says this is exaggerated, and the women by no means hold a despised position; for instance, they may even eat with the men.

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[1] Cf. Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. ii, chap. iii.; E. Grosse, *Die Formen der Wirtschaft und die Formen der Familie*, pp. 43 f.

[2] *Ebenda.*

[3] Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmaen in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen.*

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[1] *Negritos*, p. 810.

[2] *The Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, p. 62.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1880, xii. 137.

[4] P. W. Schmidt, p. 189, Anm.

[5] Cf. G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, 1873, p. 444; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 95; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, p. 106.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

[7] *Pagan Races*, ii. 56.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge", *Annales du Musée du Congo Belge*, *Ethnographie et Anthropologie*, Serie III, 1909, p. 3.

[3] *Rep. of Smithson. Institute*, 1902, p. 489.

[4] "Eléments d'une grammaire kirundi," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen in Berlin*, V, 1902, Sec. III, 79–108, p. 103.

[5] *Les Pygmées*, pp. 223–24.

[6] David, *Globus*, 1904, lxxxvl. 196.

[7] Hutereau, pp. 3–4.

[8] Le Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[9] Stuhlmann, *Mit Enim Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, Berlin, 1874, p. 462.

[10] Hutereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 8, 11.

[11] *Ibid*, pp. 4–5.

Among the Australians, who have been particularly studied, and who, since they fill an entire continent, comprise the bulk of "lower hunters", optional polygamy is the rule.[6] Polygamy, however, is limited by the impossibility of keeping several wives and by the small number of women. But nowhere is it forbidden. "Among most Australian tribes", says Professor Semon, "actual monogamy prevails, principally for the reason that, owing to the small population and the severe demands of marriage, it is hard enough to find one suitable wife. Since there are no rich men, they cannot purchase a harem for themselves. But a father blessed with many children, or a brother having a number of sisters, has a good opportunity to exchange them for more wives, since polygamy is nowhere forbidden, though, owing to the above conditions, it is not usual. Woman is the slave, the beast of burden of man, she is cut off from all laws and abandoned to the unlimited discretion of her master. She is jealously guarded by him, cruelly beaten, and often mutilated if she gives him reason to distrust her or arouses his anger. But naturally there are differences in character and temperament, even among Australian savages. Johnny treats his women at times very cruelly, while old Jimmy lives a harmonious married life with his Ada.

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[1] P. v. d. Burgt, pp. 50–1.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 67–8.
[3] *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, i. 39; ii. 637.
[4] Man, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[5] *Op. cit.*, i. 34.
[6] Cf. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. 771.

"In spite of the jealousy with which the Australian guards the marital fidelity of his wife, there prevails among many tribes a custom by which the husband's brother shares the marriage of his sister-in-law, and in payment for this right allows his brother the same privilege when he marries himself."[1]

Also among the Greenland Eskimos optional polygamy is the rule. As an example of this Nansen[2] reports the following: If a hunter on the east coast can keep more than one wife, he willingly takes another; most good hunters, therefore, have two wives, but never more. Dalager mentions that during his life on the west coast only the twentieth part of the Greenlanders had two wives; they seldom had three, and very exceptionally four, but he had known of a man who had eleven.[3] There are cases on the east coast where women have married a dozen men. Utukuluk, from Augmagsalik, had sampled eight different husbands, and for her ninth attempt had remarried her sixth husband.[4] Divorce is very easy as long as there are no children; but as soon as a woman has a child, especially if the child is a boy, there is usually a stronger tie. The native Greenlander is accustomed to marry as soon as he can support a wife. The reason for this is generally that he needs a wife who can help him in preparing his hides and in various similar ways. He often marries before he is able to beget children; on the east coast it is a very customary thing for him to have been married three or four times before then. However, should a child be born, divorce is more unusual, as has been said.[1] The native Greenlanders dissolve their marriages as quickly as they contract them. If a man tires of his wife or *vice versa* (which is more seldom the case), she collects her furs together and goes back to her parents' house, and nothing more happens. If a man is inclined towards another's wife, he takes her with no further ado, provided he happens to be the stronger. When Papik, a distinguished hunter of Augmagsalik, on the east coast, had cast an eye on Patuak's young wife, he repaired to Patuak's tent, bringing with him an empty kyak. He entered the tent, led the wife to the stream, put her in the kyak, and rowed away with her. Patuak, who was younger than Papik, and who could not match him in strength or cunning, had to put up with the loss of his wife.[2]

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[1] Richard Semon, *Im australischen Busch*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 254.

[2] Frithjof Nansen, *Auf Schneeschuhen durch Grönland*, Hamburg, 1891, ii. 309 and 310.

[3] *Grönlandische Relationen*, p. 9.

[4] See Holm, *Mitteilungen über Grönland*, p. 103.

So we see that marital relations among the individual races of early clan peoples are quite different. Among several, the Vedda, South Andamanese, etc., there is permanent monogamy; but among most of them there is optional polygamy. Every man takes as many wives as he can win and maintain.[3] Owing to their unproductive way of obtaining food and to the scarcity of women, this means for most men "monogamy of necessity". Marriages are contracted usually without any form or ceremony. Among the Bushmen, for instance, the whole marriage consists in the agreement of the man and woman and the performance of the marital act.[4] Among the South Andamanese, on the other hand, a ceremony is prescribed in which torches are lit and the bridegroom is "placed on the bride's lap".[1] Marriages among most races are syndyasmic, i.e. loose and not very stable. The man does not like to divorce his wife, because he would thereby lose his slave and domestic servant. It has plainly nothing to do with conjugal fidelity. Adultery by the woman, on the other hand, is severely punished by her husband, except where he has permitted it. He often does this; lends his wife to his guest, who reciprocates by lending his, rents her for money, and exchanges her temporarily or for good. In respect to conjugal fidelity, then, there is a great difference between man and woman. Thus, for instance, Greffrath says of the inhabitants of the North Coast of Australia: "Marriage is not binding for the husband. If his wife has become too old for him or no longer pleases him, he sells or exchanges her. On the other hand, death is the lot of a woman who runs away from her husband and is recaptured".[2]

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[1] Holm, p. 94.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[3] Cf. Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[4] Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 2nd ed., London, 1786, i. 357. Cf. the literary collection of Lubbock, *Origins of Civilisation*, p. 67.

Marriage, then, among hunting peoples is highly patriarchal in character. To be sure, among some races mother-right and father-right may be found side by side—in Australia, for instance. This mother-right is characterized only by the fact that the children are considered as belonging to the clan, or more exactly the totem, of the mother. No other rights, however, pertain to the mother under this system. Instead of the misleading expression "mother-right", it would be better to use in this case "mother-lineage". It must be emphasized that the position of woman varies greatly among different tribes. While she is cruelly dealt with by the Australians and is generally abused, even here great differences are to be found among individual married couples. She is more kindly treated among the South Andamanese, for instance, and the African Pygmies than among the neighbouring negro races.

It is easy to see what produced the characteristics of marriage among the lower hunters.[1] Its basis is entirely economic, namely, the *sexual division of labour*, which again is the outcome of the two principal cultural acquisitions enjoyed by all hunting peoples—fire and some highly differentiated weapons. In a purely animal horde every individual seeks his own food and immediately devours what he finds. Here, then, there are no reasons for a distinctly sexual division of labour. But with the discovery of the art of making fire and some practical weapons, the social organization of primordial society must have undergone a complete revolution.[2] Man, as the stronger, now becomes the exclusive weapon-bearer. The art of shooting bows and throwing spears requires a very special practice, to which even the boys among hunting peoples devote themselves with the greatest zeal. Woman, on the other hand, as she is more bound down by her sexual functions, turns exclusively to guarding the fire that is so difficult to kindle. Thus on her devolves the gathering of the meagre vegetable food, the building of huts, the preparation of food, and all those tiresome and petty duties which are scorned by man as hunter and principal provider. By man's economic advantage woman falls into economic dependency upon him; she is his servant and subject to him, and since no one can serve two masters, each man takes a woman for himself. These conditions of marriage were further emphasized by the fact that in infertile climes men had to disperse, and this was especially favourable to the growth of individual families. Thus the marriage of the lower hunters is caused by sexual division of labour. It has to thank for its institution no noble or high emotion, least of all any monogamous trait in man, but simply economic necessity. It is primarily an *economic* arrangement.

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[1] E. H. Man, *On The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883, p. 69.

[2] B. H. Greffrath, *Zur Ethnologie Australiens, im "Ausland"*, *Wochenschrift für Länder-und Völkerkunde*, 55 Jahrg., 1882, pp. 430–33.

As soon as woman had become an economic necessity to man and a piece of his property, his possessive jealousy must necessarily have been aroused, which is only extending to woman his inborn sense of possession. It was quite possible that the seducer of a woman would also be her abductor. And so there entered two instincts which are antagonistic to each other—inborn sexual philoneism and jealousy of possession. Whenever one or the other predominates, marriage becomes more or less permanent; partly because of the small number of women, partly because of the impossibility of supporting several women, this permanent marriage must approach monogamy to a certain extent; but anyone who confuses this monogamy of the lower hunters (monogamy of necessity) with the true monogamy of civilized man, must plainly have no clear conception of either one or the other.

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[1] Cf. E. Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[2] Cf. K. Weule, *Die Kultur des Kulturlosen*, pp. 91, 94.

Critique on the Foundation of Marriage

The marriage of the lower hunters, then, can be easily explained from their economic circumstances.[1]

But now we must push our critique still one step farther, and ask whether it can be accepted that similar economic circumstances once obtained among all peoples of the early clan phase; in other words, whether the marriages of the lower hunters may be considered as a general transition step, and whether our ancestors, for instance, may also have exactly resembled them in this point.

Since we must remember, above all, that "border man" plainly does not live in a "normal environment", it is certainly not conceivable that every people of the early family phase lived in such barren and desolate countries as the barrens of Australia, the edge of the Sahara, or the Arctic. In any case, mankind can only develop in a warm and fertile zone. Our hunting peoples, on the other hand, live in an abnormal and unfavourable environment, and it is clear that their marital and geneonomic circumstances must be strongly influenced by it. For infertile soil, with its lack of nourishment, demands dispersal, and makes the existence of great and powerful hordes impossible; unfavourable environments, then, loosen the social bond and favour individual marriages and families. A fertile country, on the contrary, makes it possible for great hordes to assemble which do not need to separate at times into individual families; thus there are among the social apes of the tropics hordes consisting of several hundred individual animals. Also, the richness and fertility of a luxuriant and tropical country would lighten woman's tasks, and, on the other hand, lessen the value of hunting, and with this the economic superiority of man. But the countries inhabited by these "border men"—for example, the Andaman Islands, certain districts of Australia, etc.—are strikingly poor in wild edible plants.

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[1] Grosse, *op. cit.*

If we ask why these peoples have been compelled to inhabit inhospitable parts of the world, the answer can only be that they were weaker than their successful competitors—and we may conjecture that their weakness lay in their meagre social organization—for the weaker the social organization, the stronger the inclination for separate marriages and families.

When we consider all this, we can scarcely regard it a settled fact that all peoples of the early clan phase (for instance our own primitive ancestors) lived in exactly the same matrimonial relations as the "border men", who are only the last remains of a stage of culture once spread over the entire world. Rather are we obliged to leave this question—as so many others—unanswered for the time being.

HIGH CLAN PHASE

From the hunters we now pass on to peoples standing higher in the scale of culture, and arrive first at the lowest agriculturists, i.e. those peoples who till the soil, who are beginning to own land, and to whom belong a great number of Indian, Oceanic, and Malayan races.[1]

When we compare the marriages of these peoples to those of the hunters, we find primarily that the position of woman has been revolutionized. Where in the former phase woman was a sort of domestic slave to man, his labourer and maidservant, with no rights, in the high clan phase she assumes a very honoured position. Almost everywhere matriarchy reigns instead of patriarchy—"mother-right" in the true sense of the word; woman is generally the owner of the fields, and among many tribes the domination of man has fallen on her.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, chap. iv.

This high position of woman among people who, like the Hurons and Iroquois, are despised for their savagery is certainly very astonishing. However, this seeming paradox is easily understandable from the economic arrangements of primitive husbandry and the first primitive land-owning resulting from it.

Among the hunting peoples it had already devolved upon woman to procure vegetable nourishment, especially berries and roots. Then, when husbandry appeared, she was the first agriculturalist. While early man wandered ever farther away, hunting and fishing, she was the first to reside in one place, becoming at the same time the owner of the fields and the chief provider of the family. Such a valuable being is not willingly given up by her clan; if a man wants to marry her, he must serve her clan for his bride, so he moves to her mother's clan, which is dominated by her mother's relatives, and sinks to the level of a manservant (service-marriage).

In place of capture and exchange-marriage, where the hunter won his wife as his property, now appears service-marriage, which puts a man under the control of his wife's relatives. Thus marriage and the family become *matriarchal*, i.e. the children do not belong to the husband, but to the mother's clan. In a consistent matriarchy the actual begetter does not count as being related to the children, and his place is taken by the mother's brother. This last arrangement is called avunculacy.

The clan system belongs at the culminating point of the high clan phase. As agricultural methods made it much easier to obtain food, this clan organization became more extensive and more closely knit; it was held together by the double bond of consanguinity and the soil (which last was lacking with the wandering hunters). In cultivating the fields with common forces the clan grew to a close living and working community, and this strength and closeness of the social bond also had an influence on marriage and the family. *The more intensively the social group is organized, the more it deprives the family of important functions, and the weaker the marriage tie becomes.* And this is the case among many peoples of this phase, for instance, the Malays of Menangkabau, where marriage and the family have almost disintegrated. A man remains in a clan where he is only an appendage to the maternal family, which he subsidizes with game and labour in the fields; his wife visits him at night in order to raise children for the mother's clan. In such very extreme cases these are the father's only functions.[1]

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[1] Particulars in *Die Familie*, chap. iv., pp. 81–100.

We find this kind of matriarchy not only among the primitive agriculturists, but also among many fisher-folk who live on the coast of north-west America and north-east Asia. Fishing has, under specially favourable conditions, an influence on marriage and the family similar to that of husbandry. First, it demands residence in one place, and second, particularly where salmon and other fish are abundant, it supplies a sufficiency of food. Moreover, woman has such a large share in the fishing industry that she becomes as much needed here as in agricultural communities. Hence we find matriarchy and service-marriage among a great number of these fishing tribes as well as a maternal clan conspicuous for its solidarity. Steller says of the Italmen: "In catching fish they both row in canoes, the men fish, and the women cut the fish in pieces and clean them of viscera, hang them up, dry them, and collect the dried fish and the roe; all the children and old people help them in this. . . . This stock they (the women) keep under their permanent custody and jurisdiction.[2] . . . If any of the Italmen wants to marry,[1] he has no other way of getting a woman than by serving her father—sometimes even for four years. If he does not please the daughter, all his trouble is for nothing". In other cases "the man must leave his parents and live with his wife's father and become his servant if he wishes to possess his daughter".[2] "This kind of marriage was the first step towards woman's rule and her consequent subjection of man, as henceforward the man must always flatter his bride, devote himself to her, and remain at her feet."[3] "They love their wives to such an extent that they become their most willing servants. The woman is in command and has charge of everything important, while he is her *chef* and labourer." The clan, which often embraced two to three hundred persons living in a palisaded settlement, was, however, not headed by a woman, but by the oldest man of the clan.[4]

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 90.

[2] Georg Wilhelm Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatka*, Frankfurt, 1774, p. 316.

After the high clan phase the greatest revolution human society has as yet undergone begins to set in, and the clan that through unnumbered thousands of years had organized man into society begins—very slowly and gradually—to decay, and the State organization enters in its place.

In this process of change, which placed society on a wholly new foundation, there are two phases to be distinguished, namely,

> The late clan phase, in which the clan still persists though in a state of slow disintegration; and
>
> The early family phase, in which the clan government has made room for State government, and which, as an early phase, already belongs to the second geneonomic epoch, the family epoch. In the

LATE CLAN PHASE

with the downfall of the clan, begins the universal collapse of matriarchy and the change to patriarchy. Woman descends from her high position to again become man's handmaid. This great reversal also can, for the greater part, be traced to economic sources. We find the late clan phase among advanced agriculturists, in the Oceanides, for example, and among pastoral peoples. With the agriculturists the revolution takes place in the following order: when husbandry has been so far established that the work of one portion of the people is enough to obtain nourishment for all, the other part turns to other occupations. In addition to farming, other professions appear: artisans, traders, priests, warriors, princes; i.e. men gradually build up a business organization, since the possessions they gain for themselves as merchants, artisans, or warriors, are their private property. The man who controls wealth no longer has to move to his wife's clan and live as a servant, but buys her from her clan and takes her back to his home. In this way, as we have already seen, purchase-marriage follows service-marriage, matriarchy disintegrates, and woman is again made man's property and defenceless underling. The family, which in the former phase was near dissolution, now becomes the husband's compact little kingdom. Growing wealth stimulates man's individuality, the properties of the clan become those of the family, the clan right of inheritance changes into family inheritance, and clan solidarity gives way step by step to family unity.

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[1] Georg Wilhelm Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatka*, p. 343.

[2] P. 210.

[3] P. 345.

[4] P. 210.

Marriage among the nomadic herdsmen is very similar to that of advanced agriculturists. Here we see man's rule, patriarchy, at its highest point. For herds are the nomad's greatest wealth, and the herds belong to man. Just as agriculture developed from gathering wild plants, so stock-raising is the outcome of hunting, and is therefore from the outset a perquisite of man, who consequently obtains economic control. Raising herds, then, led to purchase-marriage and to the fall of matriarchy. Whether matriarchy once existed among all herdsmen has not as yet been proved. The fact is, however, that among many herdsmen (including the Aryan) conditions are found which *can* be taken as traces of a former matriarchal state.[1] The theory of E. Hahn would seem to agree with this explanation. He has shown that most nomadic herdsmen have apparently not been preceded by huntsmen but by agriculturists, while formerly it was thought that the progression was: 1, hunting; 2, herding; 3, agriculture.[2] However, many sociologists[3] contest the point that mother-right formerly existed among herdsmen, and up to the present time the question cannot be answered with certainty for most nomadic peoples.

It is certain, though, that most herdsmen show the characteristics of the late clan phase; purchase-marriage is common among them practically everywhere and marriage is very patriarchal in character. Woman is considered as bought goods and treated as such. She has no part whatever in the family heritage, in fact she herself can be the heritage. A man can put away his wife, but, since he generally forfeits the purchase price, is not likely to do so. Polygamy is very prevalent, but obviously only among the chiefs and the wealthy.

EARLY FAMILY PHASE

In the early family phase, as we have already seen, the old and honoured clan that for thousands of years was the foundation of human society has fallen. The economic heir to the clan is the family, which now attains its highest peak; its political heir is the State, which—first among the semi-political peoples—gradually comes into existence in this phase.[4] The family in this time of "households complete in themselves" is the true economic product, it had to fulfil almost all economic functions, and made the greatest part of its requirements itself. In the family, except where ancient matriarchy still persists man is the unrestricted ruler. The character of marriage is patriarchal. Adultery on the woman's part is a crime against property, while on the man's side it goes without punishment.

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[1] *Die Familie*, p. 183.

[2] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 69.

[3] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–37.

Since the husband buys his wife, she becomes his property (Homer speaks of a beautiful girl as one who "brings in cattle"); he is generally not satisfied with a single wife, but keeps, in addition to the head wife, under-wives and concubines. Polygamy reaches its highest point in this phase especially among the African despots, who often possess thousands of wives.

For the rest, this phase is only the preliminary step to the

HIGH FAMILY PHASE

At the beginning of this phase we leave the prehistoric period and reach a people who already possess a written history. The high family phase coincides with the lower stages of civilization, and embraces all fully developed political peoples among whom the capitalistic system of production does not as yet preponderate.[1] These peoples comprise the Babylonians, Egyptians, Jews, the Greeks before Solon, the Romans (up to the Punic Wars), the Japanese and Chinese (practically to our own time), and the Germanic Roman peoples of the Middle Ages, etc.[2]

Among all these peoples the State has already gained great power, though, to be sure, of a military and piratical character; its proper element is war, conquest, subjection, slavery, exploitation, and domination. This dominating spirit also pervades marriage and the family. The free man of the ruling class is, above all, warrior, statesman, and slave-owner. He stands at the head of the family as a master equipped with almost unlimited power, and at the same time he is a sort of domestic high priest on whose mercy women and children, even as the slaves and cattle, are wholly dependent. Nevertheless, marriage at this stage shows a growing tendency towards a monogamy more permanent than before, and which increasingly pushes polygamy into the background. True, there is a remnant of that kind of polygamy in which one woman is the head wife and the others concubines among almost all peoples of antiquity, with the exception of the Romans, among whom polygamy left no recognizable traces, and who appear in historic times to be already established as a thoroughly monogamous people.

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[1] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 326.

[2] A careful compilation on the legal status of woman is to be found in Marianne Weber, *Ehefrau und Mutter in der Rechtsprechung*, Tübingen, 1907.

The tendency to perpetual monogamy is quite characteristic of the high family phase. To be sure, there is also found a sort of permanent monogamy among the peoples of the lowest cultural stages, as we have already seen (the mountain Vedda, for instance); but these are exceptions which, due to their restricted life, poverty and want, lack of women, etc., and perhaps from the great indolence of particular peoples, can scarcely be explained on grounds of morality ("monogamy of necessity").[1] With civilization, on the other hand, lasting monogamy was an almost completely general manifestation; it was the regular form of marriage which was made compulsory not only by custom but also by political and religious demands.

Among many peoples in this period of antiquity we find, besides patriarchal semi-polygamy and permanent monogamy, various other forms of marriage which are very valuable to the evolutionary theory, in that they may perhaps be considered remnants of early phases of development, and thus, in conjunction with comparative sociology, may possibly throw light on the geneonomic past of those old peoples of whom we can learn nothing otherwise.

These traces exist especially among ancient Oriental peoples, who, judging from recent excavations and investigations, promise to become a very rich source for such studies.[2] Among the old Babylonians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, Persians, Indians, etc., very varied forms of marriage (and other geneonomic customs) appear side by side, which can scarcely have arisen in the same period, but seem to be of different ages and to have been carried over from earlier phases of evolution. Since, however, individual investigation on this subject has not yet arrived at any definite conclusions, we will be satisfied with some suggestions.

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[1] *Formen der Ehe*, pp. 47, 68.

[2] Cf. the useful collection in F. v. Reitzenstein, *Liebe und Ehe im Alten Orient*, Stuttgart, 1909.

In ancient Egypt, for instance, there was a patriarchal marriage in which the rôle of master and patriarch fell to the husband. Beside this, however, there was also a matriarchal form, the Nebt-t-pa marriage, in which the wife was mistress in the household. Further, sister and brother marriages were common, especially in the royal family and the higher social classes. These brother and sister marriages are unmistakable echoes of primeval herd endogamy; while the matriarchal Nebt-t-pa marriages are handed down from the matriarchal period, and the high clan phase— a theory made all the more probable from the fact that other traces of an ancient matriarchy have also been found in Egypt. For instance, in the old Empire woman held a very honoured position. Drawings remain from the early period of Egyptian antiquity which place man and woman on a common seat, and women are even priestesses. In the graves of the Pharaohs of the old Empire it was the mother of the Pharaoh who was remembered, his father less often. Even in the Middle Empire only the maternal lineage of the dead was given. In an ancient cult the oldest daughter was designated as guardian of her children, etc.[1] In short, numbers of customs are found among the Egyptians that point to an earlier matriarchal state.

Among the pre-Islam Arabs matriarchal forms sometimes appear, as Boena marriage, where the man and woman were entirely equal; further, polyandry appears in Mota and Sadig marriages, and even group-marriage, which was first displaced by Baal marriage,[2] i.e. patriarchal polygamy, at the time of Mohammed. Polyandry especially seems to have left many traces behind in the ancient Orient; we find it also among the

[1] Cf. Marianne Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

[2] Baal = master, possessor.

Medes. The Jews had duty-marriage (in which the brother of a man dying childless was forced to marry his widow). Some authorities take this to be an offshoot of a former polyandry.

Many special investigators, on the other hand, have sought to explain these archaic forms in a more "rationalistic" or characteristically modern way. Thus they explain duty-marriage simply as a ramification of ancestor worship. According to their view, this marriage has only one aim, to create descendants of the dead man, who will perform for him the much desired ancestor worship. This explanation, however, is insufficient; it does not show why it is the Jews especially who have come to this strange form of marriage while other ancestor-worshipping peoples (as the Chinese, Japanese, Romans, etc.) are not familiar with it and use adoption, which is much more natural for this purpose. Further, they say that Mota marriage is nothing more than prostitution. Why, then, have not other peoples, the moderns for instance, among whom prostitution is common enough, Mota marriage? It is said that matriarchal marriage in ancient Egypt simply rested on the fact that a rich woman married a poor man, while the reverse was true of the patriarchal form. But certainly among other peoples rich women marry poor men, and yet these peoples have no traces of matriarchy. And even though in all modern nations there are many men who are unable to support a wife by themselves, nevertheless we do not have polyandry. All explanations of this kind fail to recognize that to-day is the heir of yesterday, that sociology must obtain its explanations not only from transverse but also from longitudinal sections—i.e. from evolution. Hence it follows that matriarchal and older forms of marriage are found chiefly among peoples who have reached civilization directly from an agricultural society, viz. the Egyptians and Semites, whereas they are much less frequent among earlier pastoral peoples (Aryans). Be that as it may, it is certain that among almost all peoples on the lower steps of civilization, i.e. in the high family phase, there becomes noticeable a tendency to bring individual marriage into a hard and fast form, and to change polygamy into permanent monogamy. This development reached a climax in the high family phase of the Middle Ages with the aid of Christianity, although absolute and permanent compulsory monogamy is by no means to be found only in Christian countries. Thus in modern India, marriage is no less binding than in the Christian Middle Ages. As Nihal Singh[1] says: "However horrible a stage married life may reach, there exists no separation or divorce of any kind". Also the wife may not remarry after her husband's death—she remains a widow for ever, while a widower has a right to a second marriage.

We have already mentioned a further evolutionary tendency in the high family phase—the passing of purchase-marriage and its change to dowry-marriage. That purchase-marriage must have been general in the early family phase can still be clearly proved by the Babylonians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Chinese, notwithstanding the fact that among most of the high familial peoples dowry-marriage gradually followed purchase-marriage. This came about for the most part by fathers giving their daughters part of the purchase money (very often some slaves) as a dowry to assure their position or to emphasize their status as head wives as against mere concubines, and this dowry remained in their possession even in case of divorce.[2]

The most important causes of these changes may be the following:—

As long as the clan organization was in force, man, woman, and children had their own home in the clan as well as in the family. Therefore they could separate more easily because the children and woman always found shelter in the clan. But as the clan disintegrated, the family alone had to undertake the care of the women and children and all the obligations of their upbringing. Therefore the family had to be strengthened by permanent marriage. Hence the State, the political heir of the clan, now supported permanent monogamy by its authority and by law. Since it rested on the family structure, it was to its life interest to turn all its powers towards establishing an orderly family life. Moreover, the military State was averse to polygamy for still another reason, namely, martial interest. For in respect to quantitative production, monogamy gives the largest increase in population, since polygamy compels many men to remain single.

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[1] *Dokumente des Fortschritts*, 1911, p. 141.

[2] Cf. Marianne Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–277.

As the women easily start quarrelling in polygamous marriages, it became customary in well-ordered households to elevate to the supreme head of the household as head wife the woman who was first brought home, while later wives entered in the rôle of concubines. The higher the regard for the first wife rose, the more fathers were reluctant to give their daughters to a man already married. Also, there was a growing resistance to polygamy on the part of the women, who saw how much more they were respected in monogamous marriages. Man's urge for variety was satisfied by those inseparable adjuncts of compulsory marriage—hetairism and prostitution, which had meantime arisen, and also by the use of slaves. This had an advantage over polygamy, at least among the rich, as it presented opportunities for greater variety than when a man had only a specified number of wives. So man, too, accepted monogamy more readily; and as the upper-class man had become richer and wished to leave his wealth to his own legitimate heirs, it was to his interest to bind woman to himself in the tightest and strongest possible manner. And this bond was most successful when obtained by indissoluble compulsory monogamy (as well as by the earliest possible marriage of the women—with the Romans as early as twelve or fourteen).

To this was added still another important economic cause—the introduction of slaves, who now took away from woman a large part of her work. In higher primitives, for instance, the labour of preparing grain by means of the primitive grindstones is so great that merely to feed three or four people is a whole day's work, and Junker rightly sees in this circumstance one of the chief causes of polygamy in Africa.[1] The introduction of slavery assisted the change from polygamy to monogamy, for now, economically speaking, wives can be partly replaced by slaves. (Also the development of dowry-marriage from purchase-marriage is plainly connected with this economic difference.)

Not only material but also spiritual grounds furthered the establishment of monogamy. As we saw in the first chapter, the secondary or superorganic and more spiritual love-feelings were beginning to take their place beside the purely physical sexual instincts; man had gradually learnt to value the reality of parenthood, chastity, and sexual modesty; he had come to know romantic love, sexual jealousy, and sexual disgust, and all these evolved feelings led him farther and farther towards monogamy. Naturally, these secondary characteristics did not suddenly appear in the high family phase, but developed very slowly and by degrees in the foregoing phases. Thus the mores had finally attained a degree of refinement which, as we have seen among most high family peoples, led away from purchase-marriage and towards dowry-marriage.

This monogamy, unbreakable, permanent, and compulsory, reached not only its peak in the high family phase, but also its turning-point (for example, in republican Rome, Christian Middle Ages, etc.), and the development of a new epoch leads away from it rather than towards it. This change, like the others, is not brought about at once but goes through two transition periods, the late family and the early personal phase.

LATE FAMILY PHASE[2]

The most important characteristics of the late family phase are: the decline and disintegration of the family, the introduction of divorce, differentiation in the callings of women, their rise to a higher social position, and the fall of man's supremacy.

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[1] *Reisen in Afrika*, ii. 216.

[2] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 158–79, 203–68.

Economic development is again at the bottom of these important changes in the field of geneonomy. Above all, they are brought about by the capitalistic system that first began in the high family phase, where it grew with great speed and power, and by taking the production of goods away from the family and into society as a whole, brought in its train the decay and downfall of the family.

We observed earlier in our study of the high clan phase that the family weakens in proportion to the functions that are taken from it. Now the circle of domestic occupation sustains great damage at the hands of capitalistic organization. Spinning and weaving, brewing, bread-making, candle-dipping, slaughtering, dress-making, soap-making, and other functions of the familial household, are now for the most part taken over by capitalistic methods of production. The family is no longer a means of production as it was when at its most flourishing period. At the same time, capitalism has changed the old military State into a labour State. Its chief duties are no longer war and conquest, but peaceful activities—extending its inner organization and cultivating civilized virtues by means of labour. These increasing activities of the State have taken from the paterfamilias his legal and priestly functions, the old despotic warlike spirit has dropped out of the family, and even the major part of child education has been taken away from it by the State.

Further, with the lessening of family production, the domestic duties of woman lost their value; hence women were forced to earn their living outside and have attained economic independence. This procedure has already grown to such an extent that, in Germany for example, over nine million, almost a third of all the women, are wage-earners.[1]

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[1] A good idea of the size of the woman movement can be obtained from the second annual publication in 1913 of the *Jahrbuch der Frauen-bewegung*, Elisabeth Altmann-Gottheimer (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner). No less than 500,000 women are organized in the "Bund deutscher Frauenvereine", which contains 1,927 societies.

Hand in hand with these economic advances go also changes in moral feelings and great advances in knowledge and thought. Ever since the Reformation, the Church, all-powerful to that time, has been steadily losing power, and the stamp it gave the ideas of the high family phase has gradually diminished. Also in ever widening circles the individual has been growing to a self-conscious personality, who is getting farther and farther away from a simple instinctive life. We shall discuss the individualism of the new era later.

All these changes have also brought in their train clear-cut changes in the position of marriage. First, the ecclesiastical absolute and permanent monogamy has gone, and in its stead appears civil marriage and monogamy, with the possibility of divorce. In Germany 15 out of every 100,000 people are divorced, in Norway 6, in Sweden 8, in France 23, in Saxony 29, in Austria 1, in England 2. The highest percentage, with the exception of Japan (215!), is in the United States, 73. There the relation of divorces to the number of marriages is some 8–9 per cent.! But divorces are increasing in other countries; in Prussia there were 106 to 100,000 marriages in 1905; in 1909, on the other hand, there were 129.[1] And this increase occurs, despite the difficulties entailed by the civil code.

Moreover, marriage and relations between man and woman have been greatly altered also. In the place of masculine supremacy (and of patriarchy), we are coming to feel that both sexes should have equal rights. According to modern laws, any woman who has become economically independent can dispose of her own earnings. In addition to this, in many States, women, who were formerly given the same civil rights as minors and the insane, have achieved the suffrage.

Thus, six States of the United States have introduced woman's suffrage—Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), California (1911)—as have New Zealand (1893) and Australia, with the exception of Victoria. Women in Finland became entirely equal in 1906; in Norway women with a certain income are entitled to vote.[1] And it is only a question of time before this advance will extend to the rest of the civilized world. And with these conditions we are carried over into a new geneonomic phase, or rather epoch.

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[1] Cf. Dr. Ernst Schultze-Grossborstel, *Die Ehescheidungen in den Vereinigten Staaten, Zeitschr. f. Sozialwissenschaft*, 1900, p. 802.

EARLY PERSONAL PHASE

The early personal phase, of which we only know the beginnings at present, will, to all appearances, be characterized by marriages and family relationships which will conform more and more to the new economics. According to a general law of sociology, new stages of civilization always arise in the following way: first, economic advances are made, and on this basis the rest of the social functions likewise make decisive advances. A new economic system leads us to expect a new geneonomy.

By these new methods of production the family has, to a certain extent, been set aside and women have become differentiated. The coming form of marriage will depend on whether this differentiation will develop further.

When the woman movement appeared most people considered it a perversion and a dangerous outgrowth of the capitalistic system that would of necessity lead to the degeneration of the race. To be sure, there are still many scholars who uphold this point of view, but in general the opposition has become considerably weaker. It has been found that herein is concerned a law of procedure in nature and civilization which cannot be obstructed, and which if rightly valued may signify a great step forward.[2]

And indeed a legitimate precedent for a law of evolution is here at stake, namely, *the Law of Differentiation or Division*

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[1] Cf. *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, 3rd ed., vii. 722.

[2] Cf. Professor Hanns Dorn, *Die Konkurrenz der Frauenarbeit und der Männerarbeit*, Neues Frauenleben, ed. von August Fickert, 1912, Nr. 4, 5, and 6.

of Labour. As we have elsewhere[1] seen, this procedure has now run through three epochs:—

1. The epoch of *sexual differentiation* (division of labour between man and woman), which we find in the lowest cultural steps;
2. The epoch of *differentiation in the occupations of men*, which marked the beginning of true civilization; and
3. *Differentiation among women*, which has noticeably advanced in our time.

While in the beginning there were only two different kinds of occupations—male and female—these have, by continuous differentiation (or splitting), grown in our day to over 10,000, as is shown by statistics. It is quite comprehensible that this process of differentiation could not stop with men, after large numbers of them had been involved in it, but must inevitably affect women also. At present this procedure has embraced all civilized peoples and is progressing rapidly.[2]

This steady progress in the division of labour will be still more comprehensible to us when we consider what use and value division of labour has for the advance of civilization. By dividing, labour is conveniently organized and given power. If anyone wishes to prepare for himself all the objects he needs in daily life, he can only do so by an unheard of waste of labour, time, and material. First, by the co-operation of

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[1] *History of Social Development*, pp. 196 ff.

[2] Germany had in 1907 31,259,429 female inhabitants, of which 9,492,881 had occupations, and of these almost a half were married.

Out of every 100 women, there are in occupations in—

Austria	42·8	England	24·8
France	39·0	Sweden	21·0
Italy	32·4	U.S.A.	14·3
Germany	30·4	Spain	14·2
Switzerland	29·5	Russia	8·4
Belgium	28·1		

(*Statist. Jahrb. für Deutsche Reich*, 1911.) The small percentage in the United States (that land of industry *par excellence*!) is explained by the enormous number of immigrant proletarian men; in Spain and Russia by the fact that industrialism is but little developed in those two countries.

many people each of whom has his own particular speciality, a higher civilization (both material and spiritual) and greater attainments are made possible. Hence it may be a step forward when women too take part in this growth in the efficiency of labour, and we may expect that the danger which at first seemed inherent in that differentiation (as in every other great advance) will be set aside in the course of evolution.

The family also will be displaced to a certain extent by the growing association and organization of labour. For the direction of evolution is towards the socialization of all possible functions, and the greater the growth of the social organization in general and of State activities in particular, the more functions will be taken away from the family. Thus, for example, the State is becoming more and more involved with the education of children, since in most cases the family is no longer able to give its children an education suitable to civilized people unless aided in some way. And so, if civilization progresses without interruption, the family household will little by little be drawn into the great process of labour association. For it is evident that by the common kitchen or co-operative housekeeping, most household duties (like cooking, washing, etc.) can be done much more advantageously and cheaply than in the small *ménage* of a single family. Moreover, as the differentiation of women progresses co-operative housekeeping becomes an economic necessity. In this way only can the injury done to children and marriage by the working woman be turned to profit, for thus her occupation and marriage can be quite reconcilable, and, too, when she is not worn out by housework, she can become a valuable progressive person and a suitable companion for her husband.[1]

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[1] Cf. the impressive study of Dr. Rosa Kempf, *Das Leben der jungen Fabrikmadchen in Munchen*, Leipzig, 1911. Working women suffer, as Dr. Kempf shows, above all from the double burden of factory and housework. "Man does not divide his strength between productive labour and bargaining for necessities. He starts his daily work with his organism rested and free from household cares. For this reason he is more valuable to his employer than a woman."

Besides the growth of differentiation among women and the disruption of the family, there is still another directional line that must be considered in regard to the future state of marriage: the increase of individualism or personalism. With the growth of co-operative labour the power of humanity and —in proper proportion—the power and wealth of the single individual grows immeasurably. And with the power of the individual comes—also proportionately—a growth of individualism or rather personalism. Personalism is nothing more than man's struggle to live an autonomous life, free to create and act according to his own desire, and to bring his natural gifts to their highest harmonious development. The directional line of personalism we have elsewhere described in more detail,[1] and we have seen there that under present conditions this striving for individualism would tend to fulfil itself at the expense of the preservation of the species. The individual who has become a person does not give himself over unreservedly to his instincts as does natural man, but takes into account as motives in his present actions the future results of those actions which he is able to foretell. As long as the sexual instinct was only concerned with propagation, man did not have to worry about the preservation of the species. Now, however, the reproductive instinct has become subordinated under the influence of an intellect that can foretell results; and since the founding of a family and the raising of children has been made much more difficult by the prior claims of growing civilization, it means that a large family demands relinquishment of all higher culture and free development of the spiritual personality on the part of the individual. Moreover, means have been discovered whereby it is possible to curtail reproduction without the sacrifice entailed by abstinence. The result is danger of decrease in population and the lowering of the birth-rate which threatens as they say "race suicide". This danger can no more be eliminated by moral preaching and appeals to patriotism than by birth premiums, lightening of taxes, etc.; if "personal" man no longer allows himself to be forced into the old marriage, new geneonomic arrangements for marriage and the family must be found which are adapted to altered circumstances. Thus we reach the question of geneonomic reforms in general and of a higher development of marriage in particular. Naturally, this question cannot be answered from the present state of sociology with certainty. Nevertheless, by searching for tendencies, we may speculate with some degree of accuracy. The following interpretation has been arrived at in this way:—

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[1] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens*, chaps. xxxii and xxxiii; cf. esp. *Die Familie*, pp. 314, 321.

1. Under the influence of the growing differentiation of women, man and woman will become two independent personalities, economically and spiritually free. The androcratic character of marriage will be suppressed in the course of this growth, and marriage will be a bond between two free independent people. Woman keeps the disposition of her possessions and goods, she keeps her name and her right to decide upon her residence. And the *sine qua non* of all these reforms is the economic independence of woman.[1]

2. The form of marriage can only be monogamy, and certainly a monogamy that is pure but dissolvable—"hagnochoristy".[2] Marriage must be pure monogamy, because personal love and sexual jealousy have become so strong that simultaneous polygamy cannot be included in it. And it must be breakable because to anchor together two people who may each ruin the other's life is irreconcilable with modern personalism.

These hagnochoristies should by no means be considered a relapse into the pair-marriage of primitives, from which they differ in the following fundamental points:—

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[1] The importance which the economic independence of both parties has for marriage was already understood in antiquity: in J. Denis, *Histoire des Théories des Idées morales dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1856, p. 98), one finds a beautiful exposition of this. Martial writes: "You ask me why I do not wish to marry a rich heiress. That I may not be my wife's wife". And in *Plautus* (Trin 646) a young man explains that he does not want to give his sister to a rich man because "she would be less his wife than his concubine". The underlying truth in these quotations has been formulated for our time by Henrietta Furth in the statement: "Economic independence is to be taken as the essential foundation of the formation of character and of development".

[2] Cf. *Formen der Ehe.*

The marriage, while dissolvable, is in principle and intention predisposed to a lifelong union, since it is not purely economic nor sensual, but is primarily the common spiritual life of two people.

It is the union of two independent individualities, while in pair-marriage the man is the woman's master.

Pair-marriage was not even pure in principle: the man almost everywhere had the privilege of breaking it; at least custom, if not always law, gave it to him. In personal marriage, on the other hand, the double sexual standard has changed to the single.

3. The marriage itself rests upon a free agreement between husband and wife. This agreement can be made by the couple according to their own ideas, so that it may be adapted to their individual or personal circumstances in every particular, and, to use an expression of Wilhelm v. Humboldt's, be made to suit a "multiplicity of situations". But as a foundation of every marriage contract there must be the legal stipulation—also tacit—that the husband has to be answerable for the cost of keeping and educating the children. Woman's lesser working strength and her social burden of child-bearing are plainly equivalents for this duty on the part of the husband. If the man denies this obligation, the woman should be able to draw alimony directly from the State, which should in turn demand it from the husband. These legal stipulations must exist because the divorced husband frequently withholds the alimony, and because the differentiation of women (on which the new marriage is founded) may bring with it severe trials. Even now we often see that as soon as a wife is earning money, the husband only contributes half the expenses and uses the rest for his own pleasure, and leaves it to the woman to care for herself and the children from her earnings. If, then, the differentiated woman had no hold on the State or community, she would, in spite of her economic independence,

find herself once more dependent on her husband, and most unjustly so.

These are the most important points that should come into the consideration of the so-called free marriage of the future. And in these very points there is a surprising coincidence in advanced sociology.[1] Thus, for example, Ellen Key says: "The couple should keep in marriage all personal rights that they had before marriage, over their bodies, names, work, and incomes, also the right to chose their place of residence, and all their civil rights". In a divorce the decree shall designate which of the parties shall have the children.[2]

Forel[3] maintains: "According to our view, the first maxim of civil marriage should be absolute equality between the married partners and complete separation of their possessions. Moreover, even in their common married life the woman's household work should not be taken for granted nor as being compensatory service, but, like the man's work, valued as remunerative labour and put to her account".

Letourneau believes "that in a more or less distant future the institution of marriage will be transformed to monogamous unions, which will be freely entered into, and, if it must be, freely broken by simple mutual agreement. This is found to-day in the divorces of Belgium, the Canton of Geneva, and Roumania, and in the separations of Italy. State and society enter only in so far as the safety of the children is concerned respecting whom the parents must undertake extensive duties".[4]

Even Herbert Spencer, who holds some views very unfavourable to geneonomic progress, speaks for free marriage. He says: "As monogamy is likely to be raised in character by a public sentiment requiring that the legal bond shall not be entered into unless it represents the natural bond, so perhaps it may be that maintenance of the legal bond will come to be held improper if the natural bond ceases. Already increased facilities for divorce point to the probability that whereas, while permanent monogamy was being evolved, the union by law (originally the act of purchase) was regarded as the essential part of marriage and the union by affection as non-essential, and whereas at present the union by law is thought the more important, there will come a time when the union by affection will be held of primary moment, whence reprobation of marital relations in which the union by affection has dissolved. That this conclusion will be at present unacceptable is likely—I may say certain. In passing judgment on any arrangement suggested as likely to arise hereafter, nearly all err by considering what would result from the supposed change, other things remaining unchanged. But other things must be assumed to have changed *pari passu*".

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[1] Cf. the collection in Ivan Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Times*, chap. ii.

[2] Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[3] *Die sexuelle Frage*, Munchen (Reinhardt), 1906, p. 401.

[4] Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Free Marriage

All these propositions come to an approximate agreement on the following points: Forced monogamy is replaced by free marriage, which is a private affair and based on a private agreement. Its form is "hagnochoristy"—pure but breakable monogamy. All possible individual arrangements have a place within these wide limits, whereas up to now uniformity in marriage has prevented individual variations. Only extra-marital sexual intercourse, which almost always brings harmful consequences, and, above all, prostitution, will be morally outlawed by free marriage. These latter are the necessary results and inevitable accompaniments of forced monogamy, and will fall away as soon as compulsion is abolished. "Emancipation of the flesh" is not involved here, but, on the contrary, the movement is directed against extra-marital relations, against purely animal embraces that contain no higher feelings. As the personal epoch is given over to the principle of no marriage without love, so it also demands no extra-marital relations, no love without marriage. Nietzsche's statement is valuable in this connection when he says, "Even concubinage has become corrupted by marriage", i.e. by forced marriage, which first brought prostitution and its fatal consequences into the world. "Everything that makes marriage more difficult promotes the number of adulterous relations" (Adele Schreiber), and everything that makes it easier diminishes prostitution, concubinage, venereal disease, illegitimate children, etc. Thus in France the number of marriages rose immediately when the great formal difficulties were partly eliminated.

To be sure, free marriage also has its opponents. It has been said that permanent monogamy must be maintained for the sake of the children; but this argument is not a correct one, as we have already seen. Unhappy marriages of parents have empirically a very demoralizing influence on the growth of the children's characters. Solely on account of the children the parents' unhappy marriage should be dissolved rather than forcibly maintained. Hence an unconquerable mutual aversion should be a ground for divorce, as is already the law in Belgium, Canton of Geneva, some American States, and other countries.

Further, it has been said that with free marriage the number of divorces would greatly increase. However, increase of divorce can scarcely be prevented by legislation, since it is the result of modern peoples becoming "personalized". In Prussia, for instance, the number of divorces, in spite of the difficulties created by the civil code, have not decreased but persistently increased. On the other hand, the tendency to divorce is not necessarily favoured by free marriage laws. For example, Rome had free marriage in the best period of the Republic and divorce was almost unheard of. According to the Talmud, the Jews have been allowed divorce on the basis of mutual desire, and through every period of their history, even up to the most recent times, Jewish marriages are characterized by their constancy.[1] In Burma marriage can be dissolved without unnecessary ado. In spite of this, divorce is almost never encountered; rather, *the ease with which divorce may be obtained leads the couple to treat each other with the greatest consideration.*[1] In Australia, however, where a marriage can be contracted at any time at a marriage bureau without further ceremony, divorces, according to Professor Alfred Manes,[2] are very frequent. While in Great Britain there occur but 11 divorces to every 1,000 marriages, in New South Wales there are more than 268, in Victoria "only" 125, in New Zealand 116, and in the other Australian States 29–41.

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[1] Marianne Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

At any rate, it must not be forgotten that free marriage can be really effective and can avoid disaster only where the economic and social conditions are right for it; and, to recall them, these conditions are:—

1. *Differentiation of women:* since free marriage clearly demands the economic independence of women.
2. *Co-operative housekeeping:* since the differentiated woman cannot take upon herself the burden of household duties and a profession at the same time.
3. *Education:* whereby an individual is prepared for free marriage. (This as yet we almost completely lack[3]); and
4. *Motherhood insurance:* which, in the sense mentioned above, places woman as the mother on a secure footing.

Therefore free marriage, at least as a universal arrangement, can be carried into effect only in a far distant future.

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[1] Pfungst, *Aus der indischen Kulturwelt*, Stuttgart, 1904, pp. 187–88. Fielding, who reports this, adds the following characteristic anecdote: "During the first Burmese campaign in 1825 an Englishman was captured in Ava and put in prison, where he encountered some Europeans and Americans. After a time the prisoners were chained together to prevent their escape. The Englishman told how disagreeable this was, and said that ferocious hatred and aversion grew in the hearts of the prisoners towards their partners. Before they were chained together they lived in close proximity in peace and friendship, but when the chains appeared it was quite otherwise; although they were no nearer each other than before, they began to hate each other".

[2] Adele Schreiber, *Mutterschaft*, p. 574.

[3] Cf. Julian Marcuse, *Die sexuelle Erziehung unserer männlichen Jugend*. In Adele Schreiber's *Mutterschaft*, Munchen, 1912, pp. 97 ff.

Still another idea that already has been under much discussion, and will probably exert a great influence on the wider development of marriage, is race hygiene and eugenics.

MARRIAGE AND EUGENICS

This idea has already appeared in antiquity. Especially in ancient Sparta regulations existed which had as their goal the raising of healthy and flourishing children by wise selection. In the Middle Ages and in Christendom the eugenic idea reached its nadir. It was brought back again by Darwin. On his theory—the most important in all geneonomy—Galton built a new science—"eugenics". Writers like Ibsen and Zola have widely disseminated the eugenic conception; while Nietzsche, though he diverted it to animal culture in an incomprehensible manner, nevertheless greatly helped its spread.[1]

Since we are to devote the whole first part of the next book[2] to natural selection, only the following will be mentioned here:—

The more the family gives up economic functions that are foreign to its existence, the more its proper goal will be solely that of begetting and raising strong and healthy children, and the more the best form of marriage will come to be considered that which has for its goal the creation of a superior rising generation.

When we examine the obsolete family epoch, especially the high family phase, we must be convinced that it is guilty of severe transgressions against the demands of eugenics.

According to the ruling morality of the Christian Church, the principal thing was for the greatest possible number of souls to be brought into the world for eternity were they born in ever so weak and sickly bodies.

Eugenics has had no influence whatever on the most important marriage laws (with the exception of some bans on marriages of relatives); even parents who were afflicted with congenital diseases remained quite free to call into existence as numerous a progeny as possible. Moreover, the cloister and priesthood attracted the finer spirits and artificially sterilized them by celibacy. So the nobler natures who took their religion seriously and followed it through to a logical conclusion were systematically sifted out of natural selection, and the indifferent and shallow-minded were mainly left to propagate. Further, enormous wars and feuds took off the most physically vigorous men, while the weaker ones stayed at home and carried on the race.

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[1] Cf. *Der Sinn des Lebens*, pp. 70–71.

[2] *Zahmung der Nornen*, i.

Added to this, marriage was considered a family affair, and thus the important rôle that sexual attraction plays in natural selection was to a great extent eliminated. For the family chose from the daughters' suitors not one who would be best for natural selection, but one who best suited its purpose, i.e., in almost every case, the richest (money-marriage).

These and other causes did not promote natural selection, but largely succeeded in destroying it. For marriage, especially in the high family phase, was not looked on from the point of view of qualitative racial betterment, but from that of quantitative racial increase. At that time the earth was still thinly populated, and battles, wars, the great plagues, and the regularly recurring famines, devoured the population by thousands upon thousands; infant mortality was enormous, but nevertheless princes and peoples were instructed to produce as much human material as possible for the incessant wars. Their aspiration could only have been for purely quantitative increase, the idea of natural selection being quite foreign to that vanished age. And for a mere quantitative increase permanent and compulsory monogamy was, as we have already seen, the most convenient form of marriage.

All these conditions have entirely changed in our times. After the triumph of capitalism the military State changed into the labour State. Wars became rarer and were looked on with more and more aversion, and the number of men killed in battle dwindled to practically nil. Moreover, owing to technical discoveries in agricultural methods and world-wide commerce, famine was entirely eliminated. Also, new methods of hygiene succeeded to an extraordinary degree in cutting down the great plagues and in lessening infant mortality.

As a result of these advances, a tremendous increase in population has taken place. In the last century the population of Europe has doubled and that of America has increased tenfold. But the race can scarcely be said to have improved.

First, the advance in medicine has enabled us to raise weak and sickly children whom, under naturally selective conditions, it would have been impossible to keep from dying, but who now grow up and hand down their inferior constitutions to hundreds of descendants.

Second, the healthy men, though they are no longer killed in battle, are called to the colours and kept in service, while the disabled do not labour under such disadvantages, and hence can marry and beget children earlier than the others.

The extraordinarily rapid increase in population and our antiquated system of property division, moreover, have created much social want, so that now millions are undernourished and overworked, causing them to leave sickly descendants.

The eugenical results of these and other considerations are very disturbing.[1] Military fitness is decreasing among civilized nations; school physicians find among the children only a third who are really healthy; out of approximately every four hundred people, one is insane; the majority of mothers are unable to suckle their children; short-sightedness increases from year to year; tooth-decay has reached such a point that a healthy set of teeth has become a rarity, etc.

And this is not to be wondered at, since growing civilization has almost completely suppressed natural selection. Under natural conditions nature takes care of the weeding out and extermination of the worthless shoots. The hunter's life is encompassed with such hardships and deprivations that a great premium is put on health and strength; the naked and unprotected body is so exposed to all weathers that only strong children can grow to puberty and marry, while the weak must succumb early.

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[1] Further statistics will be brought into the following book in the chapter on Natural Selection.

It is a law of nature that any animal species degenerates if it is not kept at its peak by (natural or artificial) selection. Now since natural selection has been definitely eliminated by civilization, civilized people must either degenerate or have recourse to artificial or cultivated natural selection, i.e. propagation must be so directed that merely quantitative increase in population is superseded by the qualitative betterment of the race.

The idea of this artificial selection is that only the best individuals should have progeny. Since a man can beget an immensely larger number of children than a woman can bear, the highest ideal of positive, artificial selection would be for only the strongest, healthiest, most intelligent and handsome men—perhaps only 20 per cent.—to reproduce themselves; while most women would be allowed to have children—perhaps 75 per cent.—since a too severe selection of the women would result in a decline in the population.

It is plain that if this kind of eugenics could be enforced, a race would gradually develop that would stand to our present society (where each individual is allowed to reproduce himself) somewhat in the relation of Olympian gods to the inmates of a sanatorium; at any rate, such a system is to the highest interests of the children, who surely have a right to desire health, vigour, and a good education. But it is evident that such a selection is incompatible with permanent monogamy. Some scholars, especially Professor Christian von Ehrenfels,[1] have concluded that polygamy should (again) be introduced. But on psychological grounds simultaneous polygamy is a Utopia for our present civilization. Many sociologists, on the other hand, want to settle the conflict between permanent monogamy and natural selection by the introduction of free love. They believe that this arrangement, which Plato prized as the highest moral ideal, would find its economic possibilities in the full development of differentiation among women. But though this idea may also lie in the line of evolution, it is too foreign to our present organization of society to be a success. It offends the general sentiment, and is truly fatal for us at present, for, as we have seen, the times are not yet ripe even for free marriage; hence State and society are well justified in their determined opposition to the dissemination of free love. Customs must change slowly and gradually, or a general lack of morality will prevail. And lack of morals spells downfall. The time is not yet in sight when a positive constructive selection can be thought of;[1] we must count ourselves fortunate if we can have even a prophylactic selection, i.e. that form of artificial selection in which at least men and women who are afflicted with serious congenital diseases and are of weak constitution would be induced to abstain from reproduction. Even in this way an enormous amount of human ailments, illnesses, and troubles would be removed from the earth. Three-quarters of all diseases and just those that are most destructive, would have the ground cut from under their feet by this most practical of all prophylactic regulations, and the basic foundation of humanity would be improved.

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[1] Cf. Christian von Ehrenfels, *Politische anthropologische Revue*, Jahrg. u. ff.; Sexualethik, 1907.

But there is a great resistance against even prophylactic artificial selection. I refer to the wellnigh unconquerable inertia of the population and their thoughtless clinging to old habits rather than to our still scanty knowledge of the laws of inheritance. Hence the necessity for insight which will convince people that reproduction among those who are afflicted with an inheritable disease should be treated as a social offence greater than a murder. From the standpoint of society the effect of one death cannot compare with the unlimited amount of sickness spread among perhaps hundreds of people by one poisoned propagation. All who are to a large degree afflicted with congenital disease or disposition to disease must perceive that it is their duty not to reproduce themselves. People thus afflicted do not need to destroy their happiness in love and life since prophylactic intercourse is not eugenically dangerous. This enlightenment must be continued until public opinion brands the transgressor in eugenics with the same stigma that was formerly attached to the "fallen girl".

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[1] How little the idea of eugenics is as yet understood is apparent from the fact that Ellen Key has been accused by an important sociologist of taking the point of view of a breeder of animals. From this angle an educator might just as well be called an animal trainer.

Attempts have been made to support this new morality by legal demands, punishments, etc. But we shall have to go into this in more detail in the following book.

There is still another objection to consider. Those who oppose differentiation of women lay great stress on the idea that a professional status for women is extraordinarily harmful to race hygiene. They say no woman can fulfil two callings, namely, that of housekeeper and mother, and in addition be a teacher, doctor, or factory worker. Her job endangers her motherhood. The self-supporting woman has no time to devote to the proper training and nourishment of her children, hence her descendants are under-developed, and the nation whose women are differentiated must necessarily degenerate. Indeed, it is true that under our present conditions, which are not as yet adjusted, profession and marriage almost exclude one another. Hence we once more reiterate that the necessary economic consequence of differentiation among women is co-operative housekeeping. In this way, not only will profession and marriage be compatible, but also the children's upbringing will undergo great improvement.[1]

In that case differentiation of women would not exert a deleterious but a most beneficent influence on natural selection. For the differentiated woman can freely choose the father of her children; she is not, like the unemployed and impecunious girl, dependent on her husband nor forced to take the first man who offers her bread and butter, be he ever so little suited for reproduction. By the differentiation of women, then, the *sexual selection* that ennobles the race is made to play a leading part in marriage, and it therefore follows that the establishment of co-operative housekeeping may be an arrangement of epoch-making importance for the betterment of the race.

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[1] Cf. *History of Social Development*, p. 225; *Die Familie*, pp. 279 ff.; cf. cap. Hulda Maurenbrecher, *Das Allzuweibliche*, Munich, 1912, pp. 185 ff.

At any rate, we must admit that one of the greatest achievements of our time is the recognition of the eugenic idea as the most important part of all future sexual morality. Marriage on this foundation will be as far above our present conditions as these are above those lower forms of sexual life which we considered in the beginning of this chapter, and which appear to our age as astonishing and repulsive.

CHAPTER V

PHASES OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN AND THEIR CAUSES

It is generally thought that the social position of its women is one of the truest ways of measuring the height of a people's culture. In reality, however, this is the case only in a very small degree. We have already seen that many peoples who are looked down upon as savages, the Hurons and Iroquois, for example, gave women a particularly high position, while civilized nations, like the Periclean Greeks, had an astonishingly low regard for women. The social position of women is not only dependent on the height of the civilization, but upon a great number of other conditions that we have in part come to recognize in the foregoing chapters. Since woman is the pivot of geneonomy, it is our desire to review briefly here the road—for the most part a path of suffering—that woman has passed over in the growth of civilization, and to try to compare the general causes that have determined her lot.

(A) Review of the Phases of Woman's Position[1]

In primeval times, when men were in an animal state, there was a general equality among the sexes, and the stronger individuals stood out as leaders only feebly and indecisively: such a condition is observed among social animals.

Then when civilization slowly began to dawn, as some knowledge and information was acquired, the old people became the custodians and transmitters of tradition. In the pre-script period the old carried out the main function which differentiates man from animal, namely, the ability to pass on certain experience. The horde was organized into ordered tribes, which then were probably first divided into strata according to age. This was, at least in all probability, the first and oldest differentiation which keeps its classic expression in the system of classifying relatives according to age.[1] Man and woman in this system were still equal.[2]

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[1] The following outline (under A) is a short compilation of woman's history taken from my book *Die Familie*; a more detailed and lengthy argument can be found there.

After the division into classes according to age, there probably came a second division into sexual classes. By the advance in the use of weapons man obtained a superiority over woman, who had to pay for it with her freedom. The man bearing weapons, the woman burdened with children, present a contrast between strength and helplessness which necessarily must lead to a relationship of domination. So the tribes fell into a ruling male class and an enslaved female class.

In the early clan phase among the hunting peoples we meet man and woman in this authoritarian relationship. Man has founded the family, his little kingdom, in which he rules over wives and children, and which, economically speaking, is the outcome of sexual division of labour. He is the hunter and warrior, and provides the animal food, while the woman as planter provides the vegetable food, and is at the same time the slave and porter of her husband. The poorer the family, and the more her man is harried by warfare, the harder is her lot.

In the high clan phase, woman, the former planter, has "created" husbandry; she becomes the first owner of the fields, and thereby attains economic superiority. Man, the hunter, still remains unsettled, while woman, on the contrary, becomes the first resident and forms the pivot of household and social organization. Man moves over into his wife's clan; strong matriarchal clans arise. Woman reaches the height of her power, and in many cases she rules over the family (*matriarchy*), and often even over the tribe (*gyneocracy*). It is the period of mother-right, the height of clan rule, and at the same time a period wherein the family becomes tremendously weakened.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 23 ff.

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

In the clan phase, through the advance of commerce and trade and the raising of animals, wealth is attained which is in the hands of man. He no longer moves into his wife's clan, but with his wealth he buys her and takes her to his house. With purchase-marriage mother-right is overthrown and changed into father-right. With the hoe culturists, and particularly the pastoral peoples, the position of women is at its lowest point. The clan still persists, but its downfall has begun.

In the early family phase the clan has fallen, the family has grown stronger, the State appears, but as yet has not much power. Husbandry makes it possible for men to be enslaved; and here society reaches a third differentiation (the first was, in our belief, the division into classes according to age, and the second according to sex), and splits into masters and servants; close upon this there follows another economic division: differentiation of masculine pursuits.

Slavery removes woman from agriculture, division of labour increases man's economic superiority, woman can no longer exert any influence through the dying clan, and the growing power of the family continually enforces man's authority. Domination by man (patriarchy) is on the ascent, and with many peoples polygeny reaches its height at this time.

The authoritarian system that began to displace the clan attained complete victory in the high family phase. The State is a military, piratical, and slave State. Robbery, power, and domination is the battle-cry. This lordly spirit also pervades the family, which is now as it has been from the beginning: the domination of man over women and children. Men adopt different occupations, they are militarily organized, they have all the power and rights in the State. The family enters into its most flourishing period—it spreads among the rich, to farms burdened with taxes, and to baronial halls. Wife and children are legally the master's possessions, just as the serfs, herds, and goods. Woman is confined to the house and acts as housekeeper, and as wet-nurse for man's heirs. To obey his desire is her highest duty; she is restricted in the disposition of her property, she has no legal status; she remains under the protection, guardianship, and power of her lord and master. On this phase follows the late family phase: The capitalistic system tends to make the military State an industrial labour State. One economic function after another is taken from the family by the greatly strengthened social organization and the increasing activity of the State. The family abdicates and becomes weak and powerless. Thereby woman becomes free, the more so since she, too, is caught by the economic differentiation in occupation. With this the late family phase goes over into the

EARLY PERSONAL PHASE

The results of the differentiation of women begin to be felt in the direction of economic independence and political equality of both sexes. As civilization begins with the differentiation of man, so, to all appearances, with the differentiation of women, a new era dawns, which is equivalent to an entire revolution in social life.[1] By winning economic independence woman has taken the only possible way that can lead to freedom and equal rights.

Society, Family, and Woman

The position of women, then, takes an irregular path of development. After primeval times it first declines (early clan phase), then it mounts and reaches a peak (high clan phase), from then on it descends (family phases), finally to rise again (early personal phase). This behaviour seems to mock all order and rules—and yet the seeming irregularity becomes quite legitimate if we do not examine woman alone, but place her in society and study her in her relationship to society and the family. The key and guiding principle is brought out in this formula—

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[1] Cf. also *History of Social Development.* "Comparison of Differentiation among Women with that of Men", pp. 223, 228.

Weak society: strong family, weak woman.
Strong society: weak family, strong woman.[1]

This guiding principle transforms the seemingly irregular course into an easily understood law. Human society was first built up on the principle of kinship, and this principle reached the culmination of its development in the high clan phase, and with it the social bond attained an equally high point. But when society became larger and more differentiated, the clan system was no longer sufficient, and had to give way to the State. The social bond was weakened by this great revolution to such an extent that all economic functions had to be given over to the family. The height of this development was the high family phase in which the social bond was relatively weak while the family tie was strong. But little by little, especially since the rise of capitalism, the social bond has been gaining strength; it is again taking one economic function after another from the family, which is being submerged.

The position of woman coincides step by step with this course of evolution in society and family.

1. Among peoples in the early clan phase society is split asunder by the lack of food supply, and is small and weak—while the family is relatively strong—and woman is man's slave.

2. In the high clan phase it is just the contrary; society organized by clans is all-powerful, the family is weakened and in many cases dissolved—woman is at the peak of her power (matriarchy).

3 and 4. In the late clan and early family phases society undergoes a complete revolution—resulting in the weakening

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[1] In order to prevent misunderstanding, we measure the "strength" of the society by the degree of its organization, i.e. through the number and importance of socialized functions, and not by the extent and power of governmental activities. The antithesis contained herein is that between the social bond and the family bond. Cf. *History of Social Development.* "The Organoplastic Group", p. 199.

of the social bond. The family springs into the breach, gains in power, and woman falls.

5. In the high family phase society is *economically* unimportant. The family is in full flower, woman is at the command of man.

6. In the late family phase, as a result of capitalism, society becomes very powerful, the family is set aside, and woman is becoming free.

7. In the early personal phase the social organization becomes increasingly powerful, the family is deprived more and more of its economic and of some of its geneonomic functions, and woman becomes economically independent and politically equal.

This relationship between society, family, and woman, then, is very easily understood. The higher the organization of society, the more it draws to itself all economic functions and renders the family that much more impotent. But the weaker the family, the more independent is woman; for the true significance of the family is the authority of the husband over his women and children. The family is an organized unit; only *one* will can be the deciding one in all conflicts, the will of the stronger: the will of man.[1] Hence matriarchy only arose and was only possible when the social bond, i.e. the clan, had overcome the family.[2]

Thus we find the social bond and family bond are antagonistic; where the former is strong, the latter is relatively weak.[3] And there is the same antagonism between woman and family; the more solid the family, the more is woman bound. So (in the sense of the above argument) we can present the following formula: society and family are enemies; family and woman are enemies; society and woman are united. Naturally, this formula must be taken *cum grano salis.*

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[1] Aristotle already knew this when he said that the art of householding was to rule alone, for every house is ruled by one person only: *μοναρχεῖται πᾶς οἶχος.*

[2] Cf. the collection of Grosse, *Formen der Familie und Formen der Wirtschaft*, p. 178.

[3] Cf. *History of Social Development.* p. 192.

Now let us collect those phases that belong together into one epoch (thus the three clan phases into the clan epoch, the three family phases into the family epoch) so that we may reach our three-step system, and the history of woman will become still easier to survey.

1. In the first epoch, society is organized according to the clan principle; the more fully the social bond develops on the basis of this principle, the more woman is lifted out of the serfdom of the early clan phase to the matriarchy of the high clan phase.

2. In the family epoch, in place of the clan organization, we have the powerful State and family. The State is the political, the family the economic, heir of the clan. The social bond is weak in relation to the family tie. With this development (which was generally a period of serfdom) woman sinks until the point is reached where society again gathers power enough to enable her to secure economic functions for herself.

3. In the personal epoch, the authoritarian principle (as a result of the highly organized labour society) is displaced by the social-individual (or personal) principle. The more this new (third) kind of social organization develops, the more favourable must be the position of woman.

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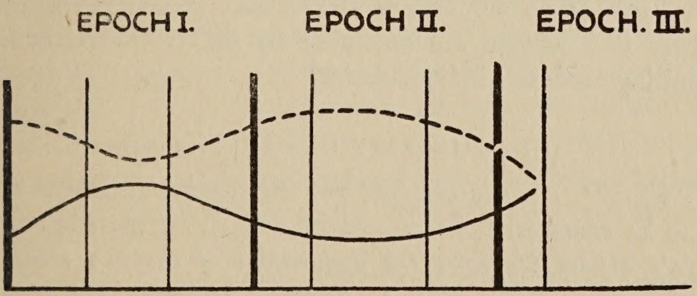
Let us try to explain the relation of the social position of woman to the family and society by a graph of directional lines. The following figure may serve this purpose. The dotted



curve shows the growth of the family, the plain one the growth of society, and at the same time the position of woman. The heavy vertical lines define the epochs, the light lines the phases within the epochs.

(B) General Causes that Determine the Position of Woman

In the foregoing we found that the history of woman is most closely allied with the growth of society and the family. We have yet to discover the general causes that influence the position of woman which are partly inherent in that changing relationship between State, family, and woman, and are partly called forth by local differences among peoples who in every other respect are in the same stages of civilization.

(i) ECONOMIC VALUE

We must first mention as one of these causes the economic value of woman, the productivity of her work. Woman is generally valued in proportion to the economic necessity for her work. Hence her low position among hunting and pastoral peoples, where man had to provide the principal source of nourishment (hunting and breeding animals); hence matriarchy among the lower agriculturists, where, on the contrary, woman tills the fields and calls them her property. This gives her lordly ways to the heiress, who, by means of her dowry, holds her husband in subjection. Hence also comes the growing power that women are obtaining by differentiation and its resulting economic independence.

(ii) SIMILARITY OF OCCUPATION

Naturally, not the absolute but the relative economic value is to be considered, i.e. in general women are more apt to be men's equals *the more the occupations of the two sexes are similar or equal.* In order to find this reciprocal relationship comprehensible, we need only consider here the "enmity" of the hunter and herdsman towards women in contrast to the "friendliness" of the fishermen and lower agriculturists[1]; or the American system of co-education [2] which is obviously favourable to woman; or the antithesis between the military and industrial type which we now wish to examine in more detail.

(iii) WAR AND INDUSTRY

The military social type is just as inimical to woman as the industrial type is friendly. For with military peoples warfare is naturally man's affair, and woman is entirely shut out of it. Their activities, and therefore their social positions, are thus very unequal. Further, among military peoples, woman is entirely dependent upon man's protection; hence it is understandable that man makes use of this power to change the relation of protection to one of a domination that at best is somewhat sweetened by the gracious gift of gallantry. To this we add the fact that war demands above all obedience. The despotic spirit of discipline that prevails in the army, which is wont to issue inconsiderate orders and to exact blind obedience, also pervades the family circle, and demands abject obedience from wife and children. So wherever we find military despotism, domestic despotism is almost always sure to be present. Further, the habit of warfare makes men rough and domineering, and they display these qualities in their relationship with women, who, among military peoples, are considered very inferior beings and treated as such. Since war devours men, it leads to a surplus of women (and not seldom to polygamy), and thus the law of supply and demand depreciates women. To the extent that men take the field and devote themselves to warlike practices, the work of the home falls to women, while with industrial peoples these duties can be divided between both sexes. Finally, war organizes man and disorganizes woman; she stands defenceless in the face of the organization that gives all political and legislative power into man's hands. The military State is exclusively a man's State.

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[1] Numerous examples in Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii. 327.

[2] Cf. Broda, *Möglichkeiten der Schülreform*, *Dokumente des Fortschritts*, 3 Jahrg., p. 689.

There are, then, many reasons for the fact that the military State is unfavourable to woman; and there are likewise as many by which it appears that the industrial State is favourable to her. For industry in general can be much more easily included in the realm of feminine activities. Moreover, for the cruelty and arrogance that earlier led to robbery and plunder, industrialism substitutes peaceful commerce and exchange, and particularly the art of parley at which woman is past mistress! The objectives of the industrial spirit are not force and subordination, but mutual understanding and consideration of others' interests.

However, old historians (and more modern writers) have contended [1] that military peoples place an especially high value on their women. As an example of this, the Scythians are cited because they had female kings. But they forget here that gyneocracy is not a proof of a particularly favourable position for women[2]; it only proves the superstition that prominent mental tendencies must always be inherited by the same sex. The Athenians and Spartans are likewise quoted, but the Spartans were a conservative people who tenaciously adhered to their ancient communism and even to relics of mother-right; while among the Athenians war played a very prominent part, and industrial activity was by no means the more important. In its beginning, however, industrialism is more favourable to man than to woman, for the dawning of differentiation of man gives all wealth into his hands and enables him to press woman into service as his housekeeper.

But in spite of these seeming exceptions, sociology as well as history teaches that military activities actually do exert a harmful influence on the position of woman at all stages of culture.

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[1] Thus even Brooks Adams in his book *The Law of Civilization and Decay.*

[2] Cf. *Formen der Ehe.*

If we look around we find that among the least civilized peoples, the hunters, the treatment of women is often hard and cruel. These tribes are mostly warlike, with the exception of the Eskimos and mountain Veddas; and among these Eskimos and Veddas the treatment of women is remarkably good. Likewise the unwarlike Andamanese, with whom the influence of fishing plays a part, treat their women better than many civilized peoples. The wife of the prince, according to Man,[1] is at the head of all other women, single as well as married, and she keeps this position even if she is widowed. Among the agriculturists, sometimes the military type is the more prominent, and sometimes the industrial. Herbert Spencer has assembled a great number of interesting examples which show that this opposition between the military and industrial type is plainly shown by the treatment of women. For instance, the Samoans belong to the industrial type; their princes are elected, and no military organization exists; the position of woman is high, and Sumando marriage (i.e. husband and wife bringing a wedding gift of equal value and dividing the property in case of divorce)[2] is the rule.[3]

The Fiji Islanders, on the other hand, are a military type, and possess a military organization in an extreme form. The king is an absolute despot; he commands a warrior caste, which holds itself in abject obedience; they have a system of sharply defined ranks, and woman is placed on a level only a little higher than a beast of burden. The husband can sell her, kill her, and devour her at his pleasure. The men are polygamous, chiefs having from ten to a hundred wives.[4] We find the same conditions among civilized peoples. Thus of all peoples of antiquity, it was among the Egyptians, who for centuries had led a life devoted to industry, that woman was especially honoured and free. In ancient Rome, as long as military and piratical activities were carried on, family despotism was ingrained in the people to an unbelievable extent; but when the military State changed into the industrial State of the Empire, woman rose to a high and free position, which she lost again during the autocratic Middle Ages.[1] With modern civilized peoples woman has reached a height of social position in the United States that is found nowhere in Europe, and it is the Americans who have given up the military type more than any other people, and who have become the industrial people *par excellence*. After them, in treatment of women, rank the Australians, and then the English. The Australians are an exclusively industrial people, and the English wage their colonial wars with mercenaries (poor devils who hire their skins to the plutocracy for pay), while the fashionable, property-owning Englishman is no warrior, but a merchant. In Germany the position of woman is relatively low, and it is the Germans under the leadership of Prussia who have most tenaciously adhered to the military spirit.[2]

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 95, 101, 103.

[3] Turner, *Nineteen Years in Samoa*, pp. 190, 261, 264, 280–84, 322; Spencer, ii. 327.

[4] Wilkes, *Narrative of United States Exploring Expedition*, iii. 77; Erskine, *Islands of the Western Pacific*, p. 248; Seeman, *Viti*, p. 237; Spencer, *op. cit.*

(iv) WEALTH

Wealth, like industry, is generally favourable to woman; to be sure, not at its beginning (purchase-marriage), but when it slowly and increasingly pervades a people. On the whole it may be said that the harder the struggle for existence, and the more wretched and impoverished the living conditions, the relatively harder is woman's lot. Where, on the contrary, there is a growth of wealth and luxury, and where art and science ennoble the character and moderate the mores, woman will be better treated. This is so even among those peoples who by no means consider woman free or man's equal, but spoil her and treat her as a costly object of luxury.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, chap. x, p. 213; cf. Marianne Weber, *Ehefrau u. Mutter*, p. 108 (Egyptians), p. 130 (Jews), p. 131 (Arabs).

[2] Cf. Eduard David, "Mutterschutz und Militarismus, in the *Neuen Generation*, ed. by Dr. Helene Stocker, 1913, No. 6, p. 290.

(v) MORAL SENTIMENTS

Growing civilization with increasing wealth also changes the moral sentiment. Under the influence of art and science people are beginning to attain imaginative insight with regard to another's point of view. The more the military State gives way to the industrial State, and man gets away from the desire for power by understanding his equals and conducting peaceful transactions with them, the more this insight will become a motive tending to "humanize" the will. As a result of this change of heart, woman is honoured and recognized as a personality; and thus the ground is prepared for romantic love which, more than any other sentiment, inclines man to recognize woman as his peer and an equally valuable being.

(vi) NUMERICAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

A more prosaic reason for the position of women is the numerical relation of the sexes. Where women numerically preponderate their social position is unfavourable (an experience that any dancing party corroborates). The numerical relation of the two sexes is by no means the same among all peoples.[1] For example, men outnumber women among the Australians, the West Eskimos, and many Indian tribes, etc. On the other hand, among other Indians, as the Brasiliani of Hawaii,[2] and among many Africans, there is a plurality of women. In Germany women outnumber men by not less than a million, while in America women were for a long time in the minority, since emigration to the New World brought out more men than women; and this circumstance cannot be considered unimportant in creating for American women their almost more than brilliant position.

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[1] Cf. for instance the comparison in Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, chap. xxi.

[2] Ellis, *Reise durch Hawaii*, p. 246.

(vii) FORM OF MARRIAGE

Further, the form of marriage and the way the woman is obtained are of great importance in her fate. To be sure, these are especially the results of economic circumstances, but they now appear as effective causes in themselves.

Polyandry almost invariably assures women a good position. Thus we read of the "savage Todas", who are still only a pastoral people, that "all the harder work devolves upon the men and boys, while the women do not once go out of doors to get water or wood, which are brought them by one of their husbands".[1] It is easy to understand that polygamy, on the other hand, is unfavourable to woman, and that by contrast monogamy is advantageous to her. Permanent monogamy is more favourable to woman than pair-marriage, because man is prohibited from arbitrarily chasing her out of the house at any time; it is more unfavourable to woman than pair-marriage in that she may be condemned to the despotism of a hated husband for her whole life.

Exchange- and purchase-marriage are unfavourable to woman, because in both forms she is surrendered to the husband's family. Service-marriage, which produces the opposite result, is advantageous to her—as is purchase-marriage—at least to the extent that the paid purchase price prevents the husband from lightly repudiating his wife. Dowry-marriage is in a high degree favourable to woman, because wealth confers power, and the party with most power is generally the ruler—even in marriage.

(viii) RELIGION AND LAW

Finally, religious and legal points of view exert a not unimportant influence on the social position of woman. To be sure, religion and law can produce no new cultural conditions, their action upon the evolution of civilization is to give existing conditions stability and firmness. In a time of rapid progress these two conservative powers work as checks to evolution. In such times they spread themselves like a fast-setting cement over the growing plants of civilization, so that these must push through the artificial bulwark if they are not to perish. For this we have the word of the poet, who says, "Law and justice are inherited like an eternal disease". In periods, then, when woman's position is declining, religion and law are beneficial to her, for example, when mother-right went over into father-right. On the other hand, in times like ours, when it is ascending, they are both directed against her interests. And this is especially true of religion, which is always opposed to progress, while law generally strives, at least in a half-hearted way, to limp along after fact.[1]

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[1] *Ethnol. Soc. Transactions*, N.S., vii. 242.

(C) The Outlook

> Woman to-day is still the worst enemy of woman.—Henriette Furth.

Let us now use this view of our present circumstances in an attempt to cast woman's horoscope for the future. It is evident that her lot will be dependent on how the before-mentioned causes combine and take form henceforward. In regard to these, we may venture upon the following surmise:—

1. According to the economic law of "labour association",[2] it is to be expected that economic family functions will become increasingly co-operative, so that the relationship, "society, family, woman", will be more and more favourable to the latter.
2. According to the evolutionary law of differentiation,[3] the differentiation of women will also increase, for the division of labour is now only a partial manifestation of the vast cultural process of labour association.

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[1] Cf. for example A. Bernstein, *Die rechtliche Lage der Frau in Norwegen, Dokumente des Fortschritts*, 5 Jahrg., vii. 499.

[2] *History of Social Development*, p. 254.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

Through differentiation woman becomes economically independent, and thereby her power and social importance are undoubtedly increased. For by economic independence only can she attain social and political equality with man.

But the transition period is unfavourable to woman in that, in spite of the fact that she may be a wage-earner, she is still burdened with the duty of housekeeping. This burden can be lifted by substituting for individual family housekeeping some of the many possible forms of co-operative housekeeping. A disruption of the family would by no means accompany this change. Rather, by removing the economic burden, the family would take on a more ideal form.[1] Only after this revolution can woman enjoy her dearly bought independence.[2] So far the entire social fabric is not adequately arranged for the differentiated woman, and strong, hostile powers exist which may become so great that the woman movement will regress for a while.

From 1895 to 1907 the number of wage-earning women has increased 60 per cent. Nevertheless, according to the statistics that Elisabeth Gnauck-Kuhne has published in the Cologne *Volkszeitung*, this increase has only taken place among those which the new statistics appropriately term "part-time workers", while the number of women whose profession is their only occupation has decreased from 20·6 per cent. (1897) to 20·2 per cent. (1907). One of the reasons for this decline may perhaps be considered the growing scarcity of servants, as a result of which women of the middle class undertake the work of domestics and thus find complete occupation in their household. But it seems questionable whether with increasing culture the middle-class women will be satisfied with this position. We must also take into consideration the findings of Professor Hanns Dorn in an investigation on the concurrence of male and female labour, namely, that by the wife's co-operation in contributing to the family income the total was increased by more than a third, and by that of the daughters by more than half; and that food and living conditions in households where the women work present a far more favourable picture than in those where the women are not in industry. "Whoever limits the life-sphere of woman to 'Kirche, Küche, and Kinder'", he says in this interesting study, "limits his men to potatoes, dumplings, and coffee."[1] At any rate, though the woman movement, like any great movement, may suffer regressions, the underlying causes will continue to be effective, and in spite of great opposition it will finally attain its goal.

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, pp. 278 ff.; cf. esp. Hulda Maurenbrecher, *Das Allzuweibliche*, chap. v.

[2] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 306.

3. With the increase of female earning power the activity of husband and wife will be, if not fully equal, at least of equal value, because woman now performs organized, i.e. more efficient, labour; and this will increasingly promote the elevation of women when

4. The military State has completely given place to the industrial or labour State. With all civilized peoples industrial activity and labour as the "source of all good and goods" is coming to the fore, while military activity is more and more looked down upon as barbarous and destructive. And in a country like Australia, which is the most advanced in this respect, as are also Norway and Finland, women have already attained political equality with men, and it is only a question of time when all the other civilized countries will follow suit.

5. Through the new methods of production, the growth of trade, and the business intercourse that to-day binds all the countries of the earth into a great labour community, wealth has enormously increased. To be sure, up to the present time, owing to its unequal division, it has been more of a curse than a blessing to society; but growing democracy must be accompanied by a more just and equal division of wealth, whereby the curse may be transformed into a blessing.

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[1] Hanns Dorn, *op. cit.* cf.; esp. also the valuable essay of Dr. Rosa Kempf, "Leben der jungen Fabrikmadchen in München", in the *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik.*

Democracy is favourable to woman in that it raises the welfare of the great mass of the people.

6. With the fall of the family and the ensuing lack of moral education, there has apparently been brought about an increase in divorces, especially those obtained by young people. But the increase of educational activity by the State, the advance in pedagogical science, the steady gain in the spread of unprejudiced sciences, cultivation of the spiritual life by the arts, all must bring in time a refinement of morals to ever wider social circles. For the rest, a comparison with the barbaric times of the Middle Ages (tortures, witch-burning, cruelty, alcoholism) shows what advances have already been made in the last centuries. Though, to be sure, the greatest part yet remains to be accomplished in the field of popular education.

7. The plurality of women originates for the most part from the hard struggle for existence which decimates men by "man-killing" labour. With differentiation of women it will be possible to reduce man's labour to a reasonable amount as soon as woman creates a higher value for herself by becoming a potential labourer. The sexes will be numerically equalized, not by unfavourable restrictions on women, but by more favourable living conditions for men. Among peasant populations, where female labour is more similar to male than in cities, the plurality of women is in some places less, and in others entirely non-existent.

8. Regarding the form of marriage, the general tendency is increasingly towards monogamy, definitely towards the goal of pure lifelong monogamy, but no longer towards enforced indissoluble monogamy. Pure and free monogamy[1] is the most favourable form of marriage for woman, provided she is economically independent. Since the reintroduction of divorce this form of marriage is actually engaged in a widespread dissemination, as is also the economic independence of women by the increase in their gainful occupations.

[1] Hagnochoristy, cf. *Formen der Ehe.*

The beliefs of the Church, which insist on a rigid confessional and dogmatic morality based on the ideas of the common herd, are declining, very slowly to be sure, but relentlessly; and a new world idea, a social religion, not equality, but equal advantages, is in process which is beneficial to woman and to anyone who is not free. Meanwhile the religious beliefs of the Church are being relegated to remote country districts, where they return to paganism. And we have already seen elsewhere that modern legal codes are beginning to fit into the changed circumstances of the times, and make a place for woman's rights which were previously unrecognized.[1]

From the above, then, it will follow that the powers that are favourable to woman are on the ascent, while the opposition is declining. The new epoch, in whose beginnings we live to-day, will, according to all expectations, see woman free and equally equipped to create a higher cultural value shoulder to shoulder with man. But it must be self-evident that these prognostications are based on the assumption that the movement of civilization progresses in the same direction as it has up to the present time, and is not destroyed through the decay of the leading peoples, by war, or such similar outside influences. But we will deal further with these prophecies in the seventh chapter, where we discuss the limits of inductive science, "pure sociology".

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[1] Cf. *Die Familie*, p. 329.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE PLIABILITY OF SEXUAL MORALITY

In the foregoing chapter we attempted to co-ordinate the most important factors influencing the social position of woman, and especially those that form the sexual customs of different peoples. As these factors are very numerous and varied, it is easy to believe that they brought about diverse forms of sexual life among different peoples, even among those on the same cultural level. But at the same time, by recognition of their causes, we are enabled to understand the special sexual conditions of individual peoples.

If a future sociology will undertake such a study and analysis for all the peoples of the earth, the explanation will turn out to be satisfactory only in some isolated cases. For peoples often hold fast to the remnants of a sexual past which cannot be explained by the immediate social conditions, but only by the reconstruction of a former development. This process is often difficult, but it is just such echoes that are of the greatest sociological importance.

In spite of the great mass of material offered by ethnology and history, even in the most profound studies one will meet single cases which are difficult or impossible to explain. We see frequently very different sexual customs among peoples who are closely related, and who live under practically the same social conditions without the slightest apparent reason for these differences. For instance, the Indians of Columbia are generally polygamous, and only the wildest of them, the Otomaks, are found by Depons to be monogamous.[1] Of the Indians of the Plains, Dodge says[2]: "There is no single point in which tribes differ so greatly as in the average chastity of their women. The Cheyenne and Arrapahoe occupy the same territory, live together in the same camps, and are closely and constantly associated. The men of the two tribes are identical in their habits of personal chastity, but entirely different in their ideas of family government and the virtue of their women. Among the Arrapahoe infidelities are not especially regarded, even by the husband. Among the Cheyennes a discovery would result in serious consequences, possibly death, to the woman. The result is remarkable. The Cheyenne women are retiring and modest, and for chastity will compare favourably with the women of any nation or people. The Arrapahoe women are loose almost without exception."

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[1] Cf. *Formen der Ehe*, p. 51.

[2] *The Plains of the Great West*, pp. 218 f.

Man[1] says that among the women of the South Andamanese sexual modesty is so highly developed that they never take off their aprons even in front of other women; while the men show no embarrassment, and women belonging to a neighbouring tribe go entirely naked.

These and other instances must lead us to think that sexual customs may frequently be formed and influenced by trivial causes—perhaps the example of an important personage or something similar—and that they are subject to a certain fluctuation which is allied to the hitherto inexplicable appearance of particular fashions.

This conclusion is strengthened if we follow the often astonishingly rapid changes of sexual morality in the course of history. One such remarkable change took place in Italy in the sixteenth, in France in the eighteenth century.

According to J. Burckhardt, in Italy up to the sixteenth century "the deceived husband is described sometimes as a fool to be laughed at, sometimes as a bloodthirsty avenger of his honour; there is no third situation except where the woman is painted as wicked and evil, and the husband or lover is the innocent victim. It may be remarked, however, that narratives of the latter kind are not, strictly speaking, novels, but rather warning examples taken from real life. When in the course of the eleventh century Italian life fell more and more under

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[1] E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883.

Spanish influence, the violence of the means to which jealousy had recourse perhaps increased. But this new phase must be distinguished from the punishment of infidelity which existed before, and which was founded in the spirit of the Renaissance itself. As the influence of Spain declined, these excesses of jealousy declined also, till towards the close of the seventeenth century they had wholly disappeared, and their place was taken by that indifference which regarded the "Cicisbeo" as an indispensable figure in every household, and took no offence at one or two supernumerary lovers ('Patiti')".[1]

A similar revolution took place in France in the eighteenth century. Marmontel writes of this in his *Contes Moreaux*: "On parle du bon vieux temps. Autrefois une infidélité mettait le feu à la maison, l'on enfermait, l'on battait sa femme. Si l'époux usait de la liberté qu'il s'était reservée, sa triste et fidèle moitié était obligée de dévorer son injure, et de gémir au fond se son ménage comme dans une obscure prison. Si elle imitait son volage époux, c'était avec des dangers terribles. Il n'y allait pas moins que la vie pour son amant et pour elle-même. On avait eu la sottise d'attacher l'honneur d'un homme à la vertu de son épouse; et le mari, qui n'était pas moins galant homme en cherchant fortune ailleurs, devenait le ridicule objet du mépris public au premier faux pas que faisait Madame. En honneur, je ne conçois pas comment dans ces siècles barbares on avait le courage d'épouser. Les nœuds de l'hymen étaient une chaine. *Aujourd'hui* voyez la complaisance, la liberté, la paix regner au sein des familles. Si les époux s'aiment, à la bonne heure, ils vivent ensemble, ils sont heureux. S'ils cessent de s'aimer, ils se le disent en honnêtes gens, et se rendent l'un à l'autre la parole d'être fidèles. Ils cessent d'être amants; ils sont amis. C'est ce que j'appelle des mœurs sociales des mœurs douces. . . ."[2]

Often such changes have the character of a veritable spiritual epidemic: for example, the appearance of homosexuality in Greece, or the meteoric flare-up of romantic passion at the time of the minnesingers, or the sexual anarchy during the Directoire, or the disease of the flagellants, which in that case was a veritable erotomania.

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[1] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 444 (trans. by Middlemore).

[2] E. et J. de Goncourt, *La Femme au XVIII*, Siècle, p. 129.

Also in our own times American feminism offers an example of the pliability of sexual standards, although a number of other causes for it can be found. In the beginning there were fewer women than men in America, and so the value of women rose; then, too, America is largely an industrial country, where military activity plays almost no part. Further, the differentiation of women has there taken place almost entirely in the upper classes, while proletarian labour is done by immigrants. America is moreover, the country of the heiress who sets the fashion. The American man is entirely engaged in earning money, while his wife is able to cultivate herself, and is thus more advanced intellectually than her husband. It must be well understood that the sexes have the same rights; but the masochism of American men, which puts an end to the cringing, flattering mistress in woman, has the character of an epidemic that appears one day and vanishes the next.

We find a good illustration of this fluctuation in sexual ideas in the history of prostitution. Thus Ploss[1] says: "Even in civilized countries in no other sphere is there to be found such an essential alteration in the general sentiment as in that governing prostitution. At one time entirely proscribed and persecuted, at another under the particular favour and protection of princes, magistrates, and clergy, then again scarcely tolerated and controlled by severe police regulations, it has, nevertheless, tenaciously shown its vitality, and still flourishes to-day".

From these examples it is evident that sexual customs are capable of an extraordinary variation, that influences so small as to be scarcely perceptible often suffice to change them. Closely related are other well-known manifestations: the innumerable perversions embedded in the sexual instinct (cf. for instance Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*) and the enormous variety of sexual customs among different peoples. For as we have already seen, almost every conceivable sexual custom appears among different peoples, while animals, on the contrary, wherever they may be, have the sexual habits that are characteristic of their own species, and to which they adhere more or less rigidly.

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[1] *Das Weib*, 5th ed., i. 441.

If we now inquire into the deeper causes of this variability, we will find them in the history of the growth of love presented in the first chapter. There we divided the sexual feelings into primary and secondary ones. And on closer examination we found that it is especially the secondary instincts that show this metamorphic characteristic. These are not grounded in the innate cerebral structure, they do not have their roots in the biological depths, but are the later acquisitions of civilization which were superimposed on the primitive instinctive life. The secondary instincts, briefly, are not inherited but acquired; and the very fact that they are acquired makes it possible for them to be set aside or altered. Thus, for instance, bodily modesty can be given up in a very short time; it can even be put aside for special occasions. The same young lady who in ordinary life carefully covers her bosom is not ashamed to display her whole bust before the eyes of everyone when she attends a ball. Just as incalculable is the feeling of sexual jealousy. When we read the novels of d'Annunzio, Paul Bourget, Prévost, the qualms of jealousy are described with such fire that we are led to believe that the author is dealing with one of the deepest primitive instincts. Yet the history of morals shows that in the time of absolutism, not so very far distant, many a noble or burgher felt highly honoured if the prince "chose" his wife for his pleasure.

I believe, then, that the psychological grounds for this sexual "pliability" are to be sought in the variability of the secondary characteristics. However, it may well be that this capacity for variation is connected with that almost unlimited adaptability by which man has always surpassed all other creatures. Now since this can lead not only to every possible degeneration, but also to every new step, it must be considered as the psychological basis for progress; and it will be clear without further comment that this flexibility, this plasticity of the human character, can likewise be of great importance in the geneonomic field.

On the other hand, the sexual instinct, this abysmal Proteus, presents another manifestation which is opposed to flexibility, namely, a certain *fanaticism*, of an intensity that perhaps is only rivalled by the force of religion. Every race looks with disgust on another that has different sexual customs. The polygamous Cinghalese compare the monogamous Vedda to a certain species of monogamous apes; the Periclean Greeks could not find enough words of praise for pederasty, the very idea of which fills the normal person of our day with loathing. No reporter can forbear giving expression to his aversion in discussing polyandry where several brothers possess a wife in common; and the same antipathy is aroused in us by sister and brother marriages which were customary with the Egyptians and Persians, and which we look upon as a form of incest, etc.

While we can explain the fluctuations of the sexual instinct by the remarkable adaptability of the human race, it follows from the presence of sexual fanaticism that man has an instinctive perception of the enormous importance of sexual customs for the fate of peoples and of humanity. In the realm of sexuality—the root of all good and evil—is created our future fate, which is dependent on what we draw from that realm. Hence, if this "fanaticism" be controlled by scientific knowledge, it can be made no less serviceable for progress and cultural development than sexual variability.

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We have now concluded our discussion of the sexual life taken by phases. Since we have devoted a chapter each to love, motives for marriage, ways of obtaining wives, marriage, and the position of women, the first and particular part of our endeavour to make clear the relation between man and woman is finished. There now remains another more general or abstract task, namely, to discover from the course of these phases the direction in which will move all these complex manifestations that we have considered in the foregoing chapters. For this we need a special method. We shall examine this method in the next chapter in order, in the last chapter, to use it for the particular case of sexual relations.

II

GENERAL DIVISION

CHAPTER VII

COMMENTS ON THE STUDY OF TENDENCIES AND LINES OF DIRECTION[1]

COMTE has taught that the final goal of science is to foretell future occurrences. This idea was only a logical and necessary outcome of the fundamental view of positivism, namely, that all our knowledge is relative, and that we can never attain absolute knowledge; thus the practical value remains as the only value of all knowledge: the application of science to our use. Along this line of thought Comte came to his famous formula: "Savoir pour prévoir prévoir pour prévenir."

Perhaps it may be thought that this formula presents an idea which, though sound, is too limited. Man certainly has a natural inclination to acquire knowledge. To gratify this need for its own end, i.e. without a further additional purpose, is certainly just as reasonable as to satisfy the æsthetic instinct through art. However, thus conceived, science would have to be a game, a very noble one, to be sure, but nevertheless only a game. A science that can never favourably or usefully influence our affairs would plainly be decried as being in the same category as chess or sport.

But since life is so serious and contains so much suffering, and since science is the greatest instrument man has to avert this suffering,[2] one is inclined to allow that Comte has really given in his formula, if not the only, then at least the highest value of a *mature* science.

Thus conceived, the statement of Comte, even if only very gradually, is coming to be more generally recognized. It is one of the greatest claims to fame of W. Ostwald that he has spread among the thinking public this view of Comte's which Ostwald had arrived at quite independently.

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[1] F. Müller-Lyer, "Die phaseologische Methode in der Soziologie", *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissentschaftliche Philosophie und Soziologie*, August 1912.

[2] Cf. *Soziologie der Leiden* (esp. chap. vii), Munich, Albert Langen, 1914.

In the statement of Comte we have then a criterion or measure by which we can guage the value of every science. If we now apply this measure to the individual sciences, there is no doubt that in mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and physiology we have before us genuine and mature sciences. For they have all led to the establishment of laws on which we may base predictions, and their influence on practical life is so tremendous that they have revolutionized our whole economy, the foundation of our social existence. But one great science, the last in the hierarchy, and which to-day has become the pivot of scientific thought, the science of social conditions or sociology, must be left out; for, measured by that standard, it must be considered a science neither genuine nor mature. The question as to whether sociology can foretell the future, whether it can foresee the coming civilization, can scarcely be answered with a cheerful "Yes".[1] If we examine the only textbooks of sociology on this point, we shall find some very brilliant and imposing elaborations of historical material, but our hope that at the end of the essay the past may be used to illuminate the future will not be fulfilled. Many sociologists consider it quite incompatible with the profession of a serious scientist to allow himself prognostications of any kind. At most we find in the concluding chapters of sociologies, prophecies and predictions which are often wish-ideas of their authors, or were selected according to his special methods, and were not the logical outcome of the past. Indeed, such favourite ideas often very plainly appear to be determined by class or party allegiance, by private interest (unconscious of course), or other motives that have nothing to do with a scientific prognostication. This accounts for the predictions of individual sociologists being so often diametrically opposed to one another.

However, sociological predictions are not in quite such a bad way as might appear from the above. We possess at least one theory that makes it possible to draw certain conclusions in regard to the future, I mean the Marxian theory of the hegemony of economics, or (as it is generally but not quite correctly termed) "*historical materialism*".[1]

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[1] Cf. Gustaf F. Steffen, *Der Weg zu sozialer Erkenntnis*, Jena, 1912, pp. 206–19.

To be sure, the correctness of the Marxian historical theory is still being contested by many noted scholars; but they only oppose the extreme form of the theory. In its moderate form it has now become almost an axiom. In that form it teaches only that economics is the foundation on which is built the whole culture of a people; that consequently economics has attained the leadership of all social functions, even including theories of evolution; that every time economics advances to a higher stage all other functions (family, State, science, belief, morality, law, art) further expand on the new level, and likewise attain higher forms.[2]

Even in this moderate form, which is now hardly contestable, the Marxian theory actually does permit us to make predictions for the future. For since economics has lately reached a higher state than it has ever attained in the course of history, it follows that now our whole civilization will also change, i.e. will develop further to higher forms on this higher level.

But how these higher forms will be conditioned by future culture the moderate form of the theory cannot show. On the other hand, radical materialism believes it can venture such a prediction up to a certain point. According to this idea economics not only supplies the condition for the higher growth of civilization, but it determines the character of all its other functions in every detail. In this form the theory is no axiom, and, as we shall see later, cannot be proved, and has never yet been proved. However, it is correct that science, feeling, thought, the whole conception of life in an individual, are greatly influenced by economic conditions. For instance, the profession and the class to which an individual belongs are of great importance in all these points. For economic circumstances make the most important part of the environment in which an individual leads his life, and the environment has a powerful influence on human character. However, human character is not simply and solely dependent on environment, but also on inheritance. We must then keep ever in mind the underlying hypothesis of all sociology: that the driving force of cultural evolution is not the environment, but the human brain, in so far as it is in reciprocal relation to other human brains. Economics is no metaphysical entity that steps out ahead and drags the remaining social functions behind it in leading strings, but, like the rest of his culture, has been developed by man from his special and individual central organization, in accordance with his innate characteristics. In other words, in every sociological function there is an inherent law characteristic of that function which cannot be entirely explained by the economic development alone.[1]

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[1] Literature on historical materialism in Carl Grünberg, *Wörterbuch der Volkswirtschaft*, Jena, 1906–07, pp. 923–24; K. Diehl, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, 3rd ed., Jena, 1909–11, pp. 604–06.

[2] Cf. the little article in the *Neuen Zeit*, 35 Jahrg., vol. ii. No. 6 and 7, from May 11 and 18, 1917: "Synergie".

That this is in fact a law has already been proved *a priori* in the field of science. It is evident that a certain discovery cannot be made here unless other discoveries have preceded it. Thus algebra is dependent on arithmetic, and differential calculus on analysis, and Comte has demonstrated very clearly that the more intricate sciences (sociology, psychology, etc.) can only thrive when the simpler ones (mathematics, astronomy, etc.) have been perfected. Naturally the same is true of technical science. It is no different with art. Haydn preceded Mozart, Beethoven Wagner. These evolutionary successions clearly lead to laws of artistic development, since every ensuing master builds again on the work of his predecessors and is not suddenly set in motion by new economic factors.

Thus we see that with art and science evolution proceeds in a continuous flow according to its own inner law, which is not determined by economic leaps. To be sure, in order that such successions can be carried through, certain economic conditions must be assumed; just as perhaps an expanse of water can only come to flood when a sluice is opened or an obstacle removed; but the gravitation of the water itself and not the sluice is the cause of the movement.[1]

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[1] Cf. P. Barth, "Die sogennante materialistische Geschichtsphilosophie", *Jahrb. f. Nation. Ök. und. Statistik*, 3 F., 2 Bd., Jena, 1896 (esp. pp. 17, 29); and esp. P. Barth, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 303–76.

And it is so in every field of culture. In all cases of progress there is evident this simple law, namely, that the more differentiated and elaborated the form of culture, the later it appears; and the more distant forms are brought about according to a special law for each function that is built upon the lower forms of each function. For the human mind is so created that it must necessarily proceed from the undifferentiated to the differentiated, from the concrete to the abstract, from the particular to the general, from nature to art and artifice, etc.

But these are only theoretical arguments against radical Marxism. Practical experiments are more convincing. No Marxist, however ingenious and learned, can foretell or divert the course of geneonomic phases from the most complete knowledge of the course of economic phases. When I had completely mastered the course of economic phases, I remained perplexed for years before the task of discovering the course of geneonomic phases which, at least in the great epochs, was so plainly evident. So if the Marxian theory cannot trace back the other social functions from economics for the past, it certainly cannot do it for the future, i.e. it cannot say towards what particular higher forms civilization will strive in the near future.

Now I should like to describe a method which, perhaps, is designed to round out the Marxian theory, and for the rest may claim a certain intrinsic value for itself.

This method, which I have called the "method of phases", and which could equally be termed the "method of directional lines",[1] is founded on the following course of reasoning:—

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[1] Cf. F. Müller-Lyer, "Historische Reihen", *Die Neue Zeit*, 1911, No. 52.

"History", says Hegel, "teaches nothing." For in the development of civilization one phase follows upon another, and has no resemblance to the preceding one; each phase is new. History that only describes the past can therefore give us either no kind of information on the coming phases, or at best, one drawn from an analogy which may easily be false. But if we place the individual phases of evolution in sequence and compare each phase with the following, then we can recognize the direction in which the development moves, and this direction points with great exactitude to the future. For civilization has evolved, not by haphazard leaps, but in accordance with definite laws of direction. And just as it is possible to demonstrate laws for organic evolution (after a great amount of preliminary labour, to be sure), so we can find laws for superorganic progression, for the evolution of civilization. I believe that by the system of directional lines the chaotic material of history can be raised to the field of sociology.

Before I explain the method in more detail, let me illustrate it by an example that constitutes a central problem in this very book. I mean by this the woman movement, i.e. the differentiation in the occupations of women. Lively battles are being fought now on the significance of this movement. Some look upon it as an aberration that must be forcibly suppressed as dangerous to the continuance of the race; others regard it as a necessary evil; and still others as a great advance towards the beginning of a higher era of civilization. Now we wish to put this problem into the method of directional lines. If we review the whole historical development of differentiation or division of labour, we see three great phases or epochs in the course of evolution. (1) The epoch of sexual division of labour (between man and woman) which we met with in primitives; (2) the epoch of differentiation of men into callings with which civilization begins, and which continues to-day; and (3) the differentiation of women which up to now has embraced a third of all women. So throughout the whole evolution of civilization there runs a single line of direction (increasing differentiation). What is more, this increasing differentiation is the straight path of evolution in the organic world, and likewise extends, generally speaking, over a million years. For the differentiation of woman is nothing more than a small continuation of a line of development that has been lengthening over an agelong period, i.e. division of labour. If we now try to understand these lines of direction causally, certain keys for the future of the woman movement present themselves, which, however, I do not propose to reiterate.[1]

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[1] More details on this method in my books: *History of Social Development*, pp. iv–vi; *Der Sinn des Lebens und die Wissenschaft*, Munich, 1910, pp. 122–31; *Formen der Ehe, der Familie und der Verwandtschaft*, Munich, 1911, pp. 8–10; *Die Familie*, Munich, 1912, pp. 1–2.

The whole development of civilization must now be examined according to this scheme,[2] not immediately as a whole, but in all its individual fields. For the synthesis of the whole can only be considered after the analysis of the whole.

Thus we dissect the whole of civilization into single parts, the most important of which are: economics, family, State, science, religious belief, morals, law, and art. (And these individual parts can also be subdivided.)

In each of these individual fields we now follow through the whole course of evolution from the lowest conditions known to us up to our own day, and divide the whole tract into a series of periods or phases. Then let us compare each phase with the following one, and thus we discover the directional line of cultural progress which is drawn through the phasal course, and gives the direction in which civilization moves ahead.

And laws of direction may be derived from these directional lines, provided we arrive at an understanding of their causes.

To sum up, then, we advance from phases of civilization to lines of direction, from lines of direction to laws of direction or of evolution.

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[1] Cf. also *History of Social Development.*

[2] Cf. *Der Sinn des Lebens und die Wissenschaft*, chap. xxv.

But the task is not yet completed. Provided we have found the directional lines of all the individual parts, we must now compare them with one another in order to be able to determine their interaction, i.e. the dependency of the different sociological functions upon one another, and thus to discover an "interfunctional law". The field of interfunctional relationship is extraordinarily large and complicated, for every sociological function is dependent on every other in some way. For example, art is dependent on the state of economics, technique, the family, upbringing, the State, science, morality, etc. (and *vice versa*). The family again is a function of economics, State, law, morality, foreign politics, etc. If we wish to enumerate clearly all these interrelationships, we should have nothing but a great tabular view. Hence it is understood that the Marxian theory represents a very small part of sociology, since it only takes in the dependency of the remaining functions on economics (though, to be sure, this is the most important of all the interfunctional relations). Besides, this theory acts in a field where the complication is so great that only after lengthy fundamental and quite systematic preparations will it be possible for it to be the dominant factor in all associations. Let us imagine that we have before us an enormous tissue of directional lines, and if we draw out any thread, for instance the "thread" of economics, we see that almost all the other threads move, for everything is joined with economics. But now let us draw out the "thread" of science, and approximately the same thing takes place. Now is economics or science the primary one? Plainly, it will be answered "science", for what is economics other than applied science—this was in fact the doctrine of Comte, Hegel, Buckle, etc. Is not agriculture applied botany as cattle-breeding is applied zoology? Was not the steam-engine, which revolutionized all modern economics, the fruit of advances in physics, etc.? But if we look minutely at this theory, we must admit that science can only exert such a great influence when it has already become economics. Scientific advances of the highest kind have never exerted so great an influence on the whole civilization as agriculture, the steam-engine, etc., until they have descended from the laboratory into the production market. So if we find the Marxian theory to be correct in its modified form, in its radical form it is quite undemonstrable. For civilization creeps forward on a thousand feet, and it is evident that an advance in any field must bring with it progress in the others also. Sociological manifestations are in the same close dependency on one another, and it will not be easy to discover all these interrelationships.

However, there are difficult and insoluble problems in all sciences. We do not wish to dwell on these difficulties, but rather to determine what the phasal method has already been able to accomplish for sociology.

1. The first advantage is that the phasal method brings order into the enormous chaos of historical material; that it makes it possible to present a unified systematic sociological interpretation. As in natural science, where biology (inductive) could arise only after all the material was systematized (Linnæus, de Candolle, etc.) by botany and zoology (descriptive), so sociology can begin only when the whole material has been previously put in order, i.e. invested with a unified system. But in sociology a system is still more important. Just because sociological manifestations are all dependent upon each other, sociological science consists to a great extent in examining these interdependencies which can only be clearly presented through a unified, all-embracing system. (Such a system will make it possible, so far as it seems expedient, to subject the Marxian theory to a "systematic" proof throughout the entire field.) However, I believe that in my above-mentioned books on economics and geneonomy I have at least shown that the phasal method actually does create order and system. By the systematic questioning which this method demands, we are brought to a point where few new questions remain, a

point which could not be reached so easily without this method; besides, it also has a present value.

2. If, by the division into phases, we are enabled to systematize the material, and thus to insert an intermediary joint between the purely descriptive (history, ethnography, etc.) and the properly inductive social science (sociology), we may assume that the directional lines have already brought us high above historical material in the field of sociology. Whatever the definition of sociology may be, a system of directional lines along which the great "folk ideas" travel on their road to development is surely no historical but an entirely sociological creation.

I might add here, in regard to directional lines, that the greater the space of time they cover, the more valuable they are. In no other way can the direction of growth be so well orientated as by a comparison of phases lying far apart from one another, namely, a comparison of the lowest with the highest stages of culture. There is still another special characteristic of directional lines; they seek their goal, not in straight, unswerving paths, but as light travels, in transverse waves. In other words, cultural progress is subservient to the "law of rhythm", i.e. it is frequently subject to arrests and regressions. After a great step towards progress there follows, entirely according to law, a smaller step backwards or sideways; after a hasty climb, a pause, etc. A "historical idea" is almost never carried through at its first bound; it must knock on many heads, be rejected many times, take on ever higher forms, before it finally becomes effective.[1] Up to that point, however, it is played upon by action and reaction; and during every reaction the conservatives triumph and bring confusion on the lovers of progress by asserting that according to history the idea is "antiquated". But sociology shows just the opposite. It knows that these very ideas obstinately recur despite the fact that they are repressed again and again, and that these "historical ideas" are attuned to the rhythm of the dominant lines of direction.

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[1] For example, Darwin was only acknowledged after sixty had preceded him. More details in Alfred Vierkandt, *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel*, Leipzig, 1908.

Hence it is plain what immeasurable importance knowledge of the prehistoric phases has for sociology. For those parts of directional lines illuminated by history are often so short that it is impossible to recognize them if they cannot be understood as continuations of previous developments. Therefore, even such a great historian as Ranke could only see the most fundamental of all directional lines, namely, that the cultural process presents a progressive movement, an evolution.

3. From this idea it follows that the method of directional lines makes the whole past fruitful for the understanding of the present and of the future. We now learn to think of the conditions under which we live as the latest momentary ramifications of an endlessly long and ever progressing cultural line. And thus we are able to follow the development of every historical step with complete awareness and a growing understanding. Moreover, by a conscious participation in the movement of civilization[1] the first step is taken towards dominating civilization, towards "activism", whereby man, who up to now was only a historical object, at last becomes the subject of his own history.

4. And now I return to the first question I asked in the beginning. Can sociology, if studied by the phasal method, foretell the future?

If by this question is meant an absolute prediction, it would at once be absurd. For the predictions of all inductive sciences are only good under special conditions or assumptions. Thus zoology can predict the butterfly that will some day emerge from the caterpillar, the botanist can know from the blossom whether the fruit will be an apple or a pear. But no naturalist can predict in a single case whether the caterpillar will perish through frost and hunger, or the blossom from a worm. Even astronomical predictions, which are proverbial for their mathematical precision, are only valuable under the assumption that no cosmic cataclysm occurs. However, sociological lines of direction do not move in free space like planetary orbits, but pass through the brain of man; they are dependent on the fate of the individual and of peoples. Peoples can degenerate, languish away through social diseases, be driven to ruin by war and pestilences; and all these outward events, the description of which is the property of world history, make sport of prophecies.

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[1] *Der Sinn des Lebens und die Wissenschaft*, chaps. xv, xvi, and xxvi.

Moreover, an unqualified sociological prediction for the future would be not only useless but even dangerous, because it would drive us into the arms of fatalism and inactivity; just as would be the case with an individual if an oracle foretold his fate in every particular.

What we desire then from sociology is not an oracle, but that it should show us what are the higher cultural forms, those which evolution, provided it be neither disturbed nor destroyed, strives to attain. I believe that sociology founded on the phasal method *can* do this, in the following way. If we compare all the phases that the progress of civilization has undergone for hundreds of thousands of years, we attain a scale or measure that shows us what, sociologically speaking, are the higher and what the lower forms. And when we apply this measure to the future we can speculate with some degree of certainty as to what the higher future conditions may be towards which evolution moves. In the place of the arbitrary predictions that man has so far made for himself about the future civilization, which are much more apt to point backwards than forwards, the phasal method scientifically outlines the goal; or perhaps, if this is saying too much, it shows us the *direction* in which move the individual aspects of civilization, and thus puts in our hands the means of understanding the existing development in *statu nascendi.* And on this path sociology can become a pure science in Comte's sense of the word.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIRECTIONAL LINE IN THE EVOLUTION OF SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

> Only he who knows the right direction and the power of the effective forces of the past may measure the possibilities of the future.—PAUL BARTH.

To introduce the method just described into sociology is the scientific goal of my *Entwicklungen der Menscheit.* So at the end of the present volume there remains for us the task of applying this method to the special case of sexual relationships. But while a clear inner logic rules in many parts of civilization, as in the study of economics or of human understanding, where it is easy to recognize the directional lines, many difficulties are encountered in a methodical study of sexual relationships. These difficulties we must examine before commencing.

The raw material of sexuality that comes to us fused into history and folklore presents a chaos in which we shall vainly search for a directional line or a law. In the preceding chapters we have tried to bring this chaos into a "phasal" order, so that it now seems possible, by comparing these phases, to determine the direction of the movement and to follow the course of evolution. But even within the same phase we find manifold differences among individual peoples according to their race and environment. These differences, which we seek to explain from the aggregate of "general causes" that influence the sexual life, are, however, not so great as to prevent our seeing along with them the characteristic attributes of the phases from the practices of the majority of the people, and thus plainly to perceive the path of evolution from the outstanding things they have in common.

However, not only are there these differences in sexual customs and ideas among individual peoples, but also between individual classes within one and the same people. Thus in

Tibet we find polygamy among the rich, polyandry among the poor, while the priests seem to be allowed to practise free love. In the Renaissance, and during the time of gallantry, the customs among the peasants were quite different from those of the aristocracy, and in the same way we find to-day many variations between individual classes (labourers, middle class, plutocracy).

These differences arise from the fact that individual classes within a people live under different cultural circumstances, and, taken from the point of view of historical evolution, these circumstances are again phases of development. In a modern people we can see side by side in the different classes the steps that evolution has passed through one after another. For instance, the country population, especially in spiritual matters, remains on a level which the city population has already surmounted. It is often, but by no means always, the higher classes who carry civilization ahead. For example, in the French Revolution, when the aristocracy became so degenerate, the leadership fell to the middle class. And in our own times this leadership seems to be going over from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat.

However, since our task is to determine the direction of evolution, it is quite unnecessary to go into all these individual differences; it will suffice to trace the high lines of evolution, and to compare the most important advances of the single phase, just as in determining the silhouette of a mountain range we only consider the salient outline, and ignore the other elevations and depressions which are relatively unimportant.

And even so are we able to see the outer contour of our goal in spite of the regressions that are so numerous in the evolution of the sexual life. We know very well that the progress of civilization is constantly interrupted by reactions and regressions. Two steps forward, one step backward, is the rule. And the more rapid the advance, the greater the reaction usually is. For man needs time to accustom himself to new conditions, and is instinctively distrustful of too rapid changes that would tear him away from his customs.

Thus we do not have to go into these regressions if we seek to determine the direction of the movement as a whole. For the question can only be considered here as a whole. Fortunately, however, the general contours of evolution in the history of the sexual life stand out in bold relief so clearly that we do not need to notice these peculiarities. It is indeed generally easier to grasp a subject as a whole than to understand it in all its particulars; and a science proceeds, especially at its start, by first attaining a synthetic general impression, and later following it with an exact analysis including every detail.

The lines of direction, then, that concern us here should only be treated as a whole. If we review once more the entire development of sexual relations, that is, if we compare the beginning with the end (the present), we cannot be blind to the fact that we seem to have before us a sort of tremendous progression from animal crudity to higher and purer human forms, i.e. that we have to do with an evolution that does not wander about at random, but, even with many regressions and pauses and aberrations, nevertheless moves according to an inner law and in a designated direction.

What is the direction in which moves this evolution of sexual relationships?

When we compare the individual phases we find that geneonomic manifestations are strikingly dependent on the growth of economics.[1]

Marxian economics are brilliantly confirmed in the realm of geneonomy, as has been incontrovertibly shown by Ernst Grosse,[2] Heinrich Cunow,[3] Eduard Fuchs,[4] etc.

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[1] Cf. vol. iv. of *Entwicklungsstufen der Menscheit, Die Familie.*

[2] Cf. Grosse, *Die Formen der Wirtschaft und die Formen der Familie,* Freiburg, i., B, 1896.

[3] Cunow, "Die ökonomischen Grundlagen der Mutterherrschaft", *Neue Zeit,* 16 Jahrg, vol. i.

[4] Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte,* Munich, 1909.

Now if the geneonomic development is dependent on the economic development, then the directional line of geneonomy must plainly be dependent on the directional line of economics; and since the whole development of economics shows a very clear law of direction, we must also expect that from this law we can derive a geneonomic law of direction.

This is indeed the case. The most general law of economic development is the law of the association of labour,[1] and from this union is obtained the most general law of geneonomic evolution, which is as follows: the movement of civilization proceeds from geneonomy to society. For the more highly society is organized, the more functions it takes over from the geneonomic organization (tribe, clan, family), converting these functions into social ones. Hence the individual is changing from a geneonomic entity into a social entity.

While social groupings are taking on higher and more artificially constructed forms, geneonomic groupings are declining. And since both the material and spiritual power of the individual gradually increases with the perfecting of society, it is only another form of this law to say: *the movement of civilization is to raise man from the status of a herd animal to that of a social individual whom we call a personality.*

According to this law (which we shall have to prove and verify more thoroughly in another book), it appears that the geneonomic growth was indeed an outcome of the economic. But in considering it this only, we should not do justice to the geneonomic and especially to the cultural development. As we saw in the previous chapter, man, not "economics", is the creator of all culture, and man is also the creator of economics. He is not the abject slave of economics nor even its mould, but he creates economics as he does civilization, according to his inborn instinctive forces whose growth we call culture. In other words, the demiurge of the whole movement of civilization is—psychologically expressed—the human brain, with its own particular elasticity, or more precisely the millions of brains whose co-operation and interactions have builded the magic edifice of civilization.

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[1] *History of Social Development*, pp. 250 ff.

Behind sociology and under it stands psychology. And from psychology we learn that man not only creates economics, but also science, art, geneonomy, etc., although it is correct to say that he can achieve only that culture which suits his economic environment. Hence art, science, geneonomy, are not merely "reflections" of economics, but also lead an independent life of their own, and, like economics, develop according to an inner psychological law.[1] As strong arguments in support of this theory we have only to recall the prophetic intuitions of sages which could well be described as "sociological anticipations." For example, Fichte a hundred years ago urged that children's education should be taken away from the family; and the romanticists (Schlegel, Karoline Michaelis, Tieck, etc.) already displayed upon their shields the modern conception of love long before modern economics, differentiation of women, etc., had arisen.[2]

To be sure, geneonomy does follow economics, not, however, as the cart follows the horse, but more nearly as the body of a climber follows his arms.

Geneonomy, especially in respect to sexual relations, grows, then, as does economics—according to an inner law; and if we follow the course of this law psychologically, we come to the underlying direction in the growth of sexual relations—the growth of the human will. We can characterize this in the following formula:—

from instinctive action to willed action, i.e. the growth of the will progresses from instinctive to conscious (purposeful) action.

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[1] In his excellent book, *Höherentwicklung und Menschenökonomie* (Leipzig, 1911, p. 425), Rudolf Goldschied says: "Conditions among the people of a nation are not *solely* the result of the dominant form of economics, but are at the same time the product of the total scientific knowledge and the stage of cerebral evolution that a period has attained." In my opinion this statement holds good for every field of culture.

[2] Cf. the brilliant introduction by Helene Stöcker to the *Letters of Karoline Michaelis*; cf. also Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, viii. 293.

This growth of the will is simply the straight continuation of an old movement extending over millions of years, the movement of organic growth; all animal life begins with reflex motion, and the whole psychic life is founded on this reflex. For the reflexes compose the instincts or trends, and on the lowest steps of animal life the reflex is all there is. However, there soon appears an intellectual motive, the mneme or thought, that is, a susceptibility to memory images or engrams. The relations that these memory images enter into with one another we call in their totality the *intellect.* This intellect that uses past experiences to understand the future is one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle for existence, and as it develops more richly, the formerly purely instinctive actions will become that much more conscious objectives of the will.

We now turn to the sexual relations of man, and in the light of this theory we will say:—

With growing civilization the primitive (biological) purely animal sex instincts will be overlaid with an ever richer imaginative life: and the sexual life will consequently be endowed with ever increasing spirituality.

In our belief, this statement is the psychological key to the comprehension of the whole sexual development; it clearly discloses the directional lines delineated by the phasal course from the beginnings of culture to our own times.

However, to comprehend it we must fill in the general outline; we must introduce the phenomena of this spiritualization in their most important characteristics, and to that end we briefly review the whole development once more.

(i) Primitive Love

Originally sex-love is purely instinctive and animal in character; it consists fundamentally of physical attraction, i.e. the mating and maternal instincts (which are then supported by the social instincts),[1] and is free from all higher spiritual emotions. But phantasy is being increasingly added to this purely animal foundation, and its images become the new "superorganic" motives in the sexual urge.

For instance, there must clearly have been a time when men, like animals, did not know that the act of mating was the cause of birth many months later. Mating was instinctive, and there was no consciousness of the results. Lower primitives still believe to-day that pregnancy is not simply caused by man, but that it can be brought about by a woman's having contact with flowers, animals, sun-rays, ghosts, etc. And there may be peoples in existence who, like the Australian Aruntas, know absolutely nothing of the relation between intercourse and pregnancy. It is not essential to our question whether or not this is still the case to-day. At any rate, they could never have laid much value on parenthood until primitive "psychology" had advanced far enough to have the ideas "mating" and "birth" connected in the conscious mind, and until the intellect had become enriched by this particular new image. Even mother-love, which has always been so much a part of the feminine urge, originally went out not only to a woman's own child, but (as is the case among many higher animals) to children in general. Hence the (relative) indifference of the primitive mother as to whether a child was physiologically her own, and her amazing propensity to exchange children or adopt them and bring them up with the same love and care that she gave to her own. Then later, when with increasing possessions the ideas of "mine and thine" were more sharply defined, mother-love too began to narrow down to a woman's *own* child and to turn away from the children of others.

Sexual modesty also could not have existed in the original stage of pure instinctive life; for instincts are acted upon regardless of modesty. Sexual modesty, like bodily modesty, is not a primary attribute, since nakedness is clearly the original condition of man, and the different kinds of bodily shame first arose when clothing and decoration were discovered. However, it is apparent that "feminine shyness" is existent in the basically primitive instincts, and has later become attached to feminine modesty. This instinct of "feminine shyness" which arouses the desire of the male (and at the same time selects males with strong sexual instincts) is very common among the higher animals.

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[1] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens*, chap. x.

To be sure, sexual jealousy is also widely prevalent among higher animals, but we do not consider it a primary instinct. It is entirely lacking among many primitives who already have jealousy of possession very highly developed. As a result of the sexual division of labour there arises a symbiosis, in which woman becomes an economic necessity for man. The antagonism resulting from woman's dependency on man is purely instinctive on this stage of evolution, for primitive marriage is only the subjection of woman to the will of man. It is an economic arrangement. Economics is generally stronger than the sexual instinct.

The primary foundation, then, of the sexual instinct is very simple, and free from all higher emotions. The secondary feelings first gave its human character to sexual relations. And this humanization is due to the progressive extension of the sphere of consciousness.

(ii) Family Epoch

In the family epoch the secondary emotions of love, i.e. those modified by the intellect, have already attained a high development; naturally arising gradually and not suddenly, for their origins can be seen everywhere, even among the most primitive peoples.

Among the most important of these secondary feelings are sexual jealousy and individual passion (romantic love). And the rise of these feelings, too, can be traced to an extension of consciousness, to an enrichment of phantasy, and to a spiritualization of the instincts.

Sexual jealousy was prepared for by jealousy of possession, which had already been aroused in primitive marriage and strengthened by purchase-marriage. But its particular character is really due to the recognition of woman as a person, and to the extension of feelings of disgust. Of course this feeling of disgust exists also among primitives, but with them it is very slightly developed.[1] That a great many things are repulsive does not enter the primitive's consciousness. He has no idea of intensive conscious valuation, i.e. taking an object out of chaos and thinking of it as intrinsically calling forth aversion and loathing. According to Spinoza and other philosophers, however, this feeling of disgust has caused sexual jealousy, which in their opinion is a figment of the imagination due to an idea that the beloved object has been physically soiled by another's love. But sexual jealousy is not founded on the feeling of disgust *alone*, it is increased by the hurt to the vanity or pride when another is preferred or even put on a par, and in order really to feel this hurt woman must be conceived of as a "personality" who makes her choice a privilege. As long as woman was considered more a thing than a person, her choice, as such, could only be a matter of indifference.

Sexual jealousy was also fed from another source—the child. As soon as man discovered the relation between mating and birth, and the difference between "mine and thine" had become more definitely marked, an entirely new and special set of ideas entered the picture that also provided cause for sexual jealousy.

The same may be said of the prizing of chastity. For chastity, where it does not rest upon merely theological precepts, is plainly an outcome of sexual jealousy: it is guarded as a strong fortress is guarded against a treacherous assault and breach of faith.

This enriching and deepening of consciousness also laid the foundations for the rise of individual or romantic love, and above all for the extension of the æsthetic consciousness. To be sure, there does exist a feeling for beauty among primitives, but it is very little developed. We know very well that a feeling for the spell of mountain peaks (Petrarch, Rousseau) is quite modern, and the tourist in Alpine countries is always astonished at the absolute indifference with which the peasant regards the purely æsthetic attractions of Nature.

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[1] Cf. the menu of the primitive in *History of Social Development*.

Thus the beauty of woman could only have been first discovered at a fairly high cultural level, namely, when man had raised himself above necessity to a point where he could take pleasure in line, form, and colour; in short, when his consciousness knew and was enriched by purely æsthetic experience. This æsthetic experience brought with it an extension of the *moral* consciousness. Originally man saw in woman not a subject but an object, and above all a sexual object. In many languages the word for woman originally only meant the female genitals; for example, the word *nekewoh* in Hebrew, in Indo-Germanic *gena* (old Ind.), *gyne* (Greek), *muoder* (old German), all mean "bearer"; in Bulgarian *Matka* = "belly"; in Serbian *materna* = "bearer, belly".[1]

Only slowly and gradually this picture of woman as only a sexual object became extended and enriched in the masculine consciousness, and not until very lately has she emerged before man's inner eye as a particular individual in the totality of her physical, spiritual, and moral attributes—as a personality. The logical outcome of this extension of consciousness is that love, which up to this point had been general, now becomes individual. For physical (animal) love may go out to any healthy individual of the opposite sex, while a personal love chooses a whole personality.

In modesty we find yet another æsthetic force that could never have been an effective one in the hazy perceptions of primitive consciousness. Certain bodily functions, parts of the body, and various actions are designated as less æsthetic than others, hence the more developed consciousness here makes sharp distinctions. Although general (social) modesty is natural to primitive man (perhaps even to social animals), and females (as has already been shown) have a certain sexual shyness, *sexual* modesty cannot be said to be inborn in man, since it is often totally disregarded.

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[1] Cf. Friedr. S. Kraufs, "Folkloristisches von der Mutterschaft" (in Adele Schreiber's *Mutterschaft*, Langen, Munich, 1912).

Bodily modesty reached its highest development when civilization moved from warmer areas to the north, where, thanks to the custom of wearing clothes, it has often degenerated into senseless prudery.

In the family epoch the secondary love emotions frequently acquired an unhealthy and one-sided excessive development, a real "orthogenesis" which was only occasioned by the outer pressure characteristic of this period, and which with the present culture will hardly be of long duration. For the family epoch was at the same time the period of the greatest repression, of bondage, slavery, war, and robbery. The spirit of domination and servitude lay heavily upon it.

By the progressive widening of consciousness man has learned that free self-determination and development of the will is the highest good to the self-conscious, aroused personality, and that true culture lies not in stunting and suppressing, but in guiding and ennobling the natural instincts.

In the personal epoch on which we are entering, this awakening of personality extends to ever wider circles of society, particularly to those that were suppressed in the family epoch, This was accomplished by a broadening of consciousness, the underlying characteristic of which was self-comprehension. Women especially are affected by this new attitude.

(iii) Personal Epoch

Just as man in general is dependent upon the society in which he lives, so also are the two sexes destined for each other; man and woman are physiologically and psychologically dependent on one another. Such an interdependent relationship leads in itself to an antagonism that strives in every way towards a solution, a settlement. For example, the antithesis "individual" and "society" is resolved when dependency on sensible fellow-men gives a greater amount of freedom than dependency on unconscious nature. The opposites, man and woman, can only be resolved by the perfectly equal rights (*not equality*) of both sexes; until then the struggle remains, and this struggle between man and woman runs through the whole geneonomic evolution.

In the early clan phase, with the rise of individual marriage, it led directly to the enslavement of woman, who, however, sought to free herself again whenever circumstances were favourable. This happened only twice, in the high clan phase and in the late family phase. In the latter phase the outlook for her was so favourable that in the dawning personal phase it almost looks as if the goal were reached and the thousand-year struggle for equal sexual rights may find its end—but only on condition that love and economic conditions are kept separate.

Love and economy were already bound together in primitive marriage, i.e. when the sexual division of labour made it necessary. And thereby the feminine will became doubly dependent upon the masculine—economically and geneonomically—and this twofold dependency remained in force throughout almost the entire cultural development. In the late family phase, with the differentiation of woman, love first frees itself from the chains of economy, and that eternal struggle which was drawn out through thousands of years, and was daily waged by millions of battling men and women, seems, at least on the economic field, where it raged more fiercely than on any other, to be nearing an end.

However, what led to this antithesis, and what led to its end, were not only economic circumstances, but also the wills and points of view of the individuals concerned.

For with the extension of the field of consciousness, self-consciousness awakes—the self-consciousness of woman, who thereby becomes a personality. At the same time man extends his own consciousness, since he is now aware of the woman, who has hitherto only existed as an inferior object, as a subject, i.e. as a being who, like man, experiences, wills, and feels. And this wonderful change has been brought about by a process of "feeling into" or "feeling with"; in other words, by an enrichment of consciousness that can show the inner feelings of another, that opens the door upon an individual's phantasy, and hence is aware of the motives for his actions.

And this whole progress rests upon an enrichment in the imaginative life—the intellect.

This same modification of the instinctive life through the intellect, this same humanizing or spiritualization of the instinctive tendencies that ennobled relations between man and woman, also lends itself to the relations between parents and children.

We now find the child sharing with woman this new understanding and becoming a comprehensible being in its own right; and the earlier severe education whose principle was the rod has now become the mild pedagogy of the late family phase.

Further, the mating instinct that before was purely animal and almost mechanical is now rationalized, i.e. made reasonable. Primitive man does his mating quite instinctively, without thinking of the consequences, in very early times without even knowing the consequences. To-day, the increasing expansion of consciousness gives more and more importance to the future, while the consciousness of primitive man is almost entirely concerned with the present, i.e. with ideas that concern only the immediate future. Natural man is the child of the moment, while civilized man pictures to himself the distant future also, and installs these ideas in his imaginative dynamics. Moreover, his consciousness necessarily must embrace the future fate of his children, and the pictures thus obtained must be at times highly disturbing to him. The result of this "refinement of parental love" (Brentano) is that he does not beget more children than he can bring up in a manner worthy of humanity and civilization. To be sure, there does appear to be a regulation of the population among primitives also, but only in rare cases.

Finally, the idea of eugenics, or conscious selection, which is the most important one for geneonomy, and which is the farthest removed from the simple gratification of instinct, is included by this ever-expanding consciousness. According to this conception, the most morally valuable marital union is that which produces the best, that is, the healthiest, strongest, and most beautiful descendants. To be sure, it will be a long time before this conception becomes generally effective, but its logic is so compelling that it will gradually become a "necessity of thought", and finally all geneonomic values will be expressed in terms of another denomination. At any rate, it is clear that this advance must lie in the direction of a steadily increasing sphere of consciousness.

If we now trace the development step by step in this way—from the sociological standpoint—we see that with growing civilization,

1. The life of phantasy is becoming constantly richer, resulting in
2. The will's attaining an increasing susceptibility to stimuli (from the outer world), and
3. An increasing capacity for action (on the outer world from within);

That these relations, then, between the human will and the world will be ever more numerous and manifold; and the mediator between the world and the will is the intellect.

This psychological directional line can be demonstrated not only in the special case of sexual relations, but for the whole cultural development. In other words, increasing conscious valuation brings with it a rationalizing and humanizing of the outer world, for which we have to thank the growth of the human will, and, in the last analysis, the growth of the intellectual and spiritual life, with the resulting ennoblement of the instinctive life.

We have already spoken elsewhere [1] of this "general law of conscious valuation". We must also mention a law of evolution in order to enable us to understand the directional lines causally. The present enrichment of the intellect is merely a result of the social accumulation of the spiritual achievements that are guaranteed to man by language. Since man lives in social bonds and possesses by speech the power of participation, the single individual can turn his experience to the common good. Each new experience, discovery, or way of thought that favourable opportunity or the brains of genius have given to humanity is transferred by language to all following generations. And since each generation is the teacher of the ensuing one, mankind accumulates a constantly increasing wealth of thoughts and experiences which language can transfer to each individual.

Thus through speech there takes place a constant enrichment of the intellect. This intellectual development is so apparent that as yet no sociologists have contested it. But it has been generally questioned as to whether the moral development has kept pace with the intellectual. These questioners forget that every new moral idea or way of thinking will be a new motive for the will, and will offer it a new field of activity. By thus increasing its sphere it will assist the progress from unconscious instinctive action towards *conscious willed action* and the consideration of the future.

We see then that under or behind the economic development is hidden a still deeper evolution—a social-psychological growth, the expansion of the human will, or, more clearly, the interrelations between the world and the will. If we collect what we have said here, and remember the theories of progress expounded in *History of Social Development*, we come to the following conclusions:—

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[1] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens.*

The driving force in the evolution of civilization is the human will;

The will evolves through interaction with the environment;

The mediator in this interaction is the intellect, for the will is blind;

Within the intellect there takes place an accumulation of spiritual acquisitions made possible by language—a steady enrichment and deepening of consciousness;

But in order that this extension of consciousness may actually take place, there must be (especially at the beginning of a civilization) a changing environment and group contact;[1]

The expansion of consciousness effects economic advances;

On the basis of economic advances the remaining sociological functions then develop (Marxian theory).

Thus phase engenders phase. But any phase is not *only* a reflection of production methods, it is also at the same time an imprint of the spiritual development at that point, which has been created by innumerable willing, thinking, and speaking individuals in *all* the preceding phases.

If we take this view, we shall not believe (as do so many Marxists, at least in theory) that as soon as economics once attains a higher level, evolution in all the other fields of culture will *automatically* overtake it without co-operation on our part, nor that we can now quietly leave the progress of sexual evolution to the dialectical movement and sit back with our hands folded waiting for it to ripen and fall off the tree like autumn fruit. That is a very dangerous error. Civilization does not soar above the head of man, but is born within his brain, and in his brain is fought out the progress of culture. In order to attain new cultural levels great efforts must be made and strenuous battles waged.

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[1] Details in *History of Social Development.*

For the obstacles and difficulties that stem the tide of the new civilization are extraordinarily great and numerous. We must conquer the wellnigh invincible apathy and conservatism of the average man who holds fast to established custom; we must conquer international anarchy, as a result of which the leading peoples waste their strength in senseless competitive armaments instead of fulfilling their duty to civilization; we must conquer the antiquated system of distribution of wealth that rests upon inheritance rights; we must conquer family education that perverts the individual to anti-social egoism, etc. And, as we shall see later in the treatment of social problems, all these problems must be worked upon at the same time and from all angles. For any individual domain of civilization is tightly bound to every other, and progress in one field remains practically impossible as long as parallel steps are not taken in the others. If we can rise above all these difficulties and remember that the late family phase is an extremely critical one, a reef on which all peoples that have reached it have come to grief,[1] we shall not doubt that new cultural levels can only be reached by the greatest amount of exertion. Fortunately, however, these obstacles are contraposed by powerful forces. Without doubt modern civilized peoples are caught in a great surge of progress. Their strength is still unbroken, and their labour for civilization will be furthered by modern science, whereas ancient peoples had to perish in the darkness of their ignorance. But even under favourable circumstances the new civilization cannot be attained by leaps and bounds, but only gradually, step by step. For every generation adds only a relatively small portion to the enormous cultural inheritance that mankind has amassed in unnumbered thousands of years; an epoch-making increase in culture can hence only be attained by the labour of many generations.

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[1] Cf. *Sinn des Lebens.*

Herewith I close the sociology of sexual relationships, and shall begin in the next volume the sociology of the relations between generations that will appear under the title *Die Zähmung der Nornen* (*Taming the Fates*), a sociology of natural selection, education, and inheritance.

INDEX OF NAMES

Achelis, 34, 132
Adams, Brooks, 196
Altmann-Gottheimer, E., 168
Annunzio, Gabriele d', 43, 83, 210
Appun, K. F., 105, 107
Aristotle, 74, 192
Arnobius, 55
Athenæus, 59
Atkinson, 132, 133
Augustine, St., 55, 60
Aulus, Gellius, 75
Aussy, Legrand d', 56

Bach, 89
Bachofen, 132, 133
Baker, 40
Bancroft, 67
Barth, 106
Barth, Paul, 218, 227
Bastholm, C., 44
Bastian, 77, 83, 106
Bauer, Max, 57
Bebel, August, 110
Bechtinger, 26
Becker, Wilhelm Adolf, 33, 59, 64, 74
Beethoven, 89, 218
Berkusky, H., 135
Bernhoft, 132
Bernstein, A., 201
Berolzheimer, Fritz, 101
Bloch, Ivan, 38, 90, 110, 176
Bonwick, 38
Bougainville, 37
Bourget, Paul, 83, 210
Braun, Lily, 109, 110
Brentano, Lujo, 340
Broda, 195
Bruckner, 89, 125
Büchner, Max, 115, 125
Buckle, 222
Bülow, Frieda v., 109
Burckhardt, Jakob, 207
Burckhardt, John Lewis, 127, 128
Burgt, P. v. d., 139, 148, 149
Buschan, 41, 55, 133
Byron, 95

Cæsar, 30
Cassignac, Granier de, 39
Cato, 107
Chamisso, 27
Cicero, 103
Collins, David, 120
Combes et Tamisier, 58
Combie, M., 114
Compiègne, de, 31
Comte, 215, 216, 218, 222
Cook, 38, 135
Cranz, 34
Crawley, 52, 132
Cunow, Heinrich, 30, 123, 133, 144, 145, 229

Dalmas, 47
Dargun, 119, 121
Darwin, 77, 180, 224
David, 148
David, Eduard, 198
Demosthenes, 32, 75, 116
Denis, J., 174
Depons, 206
Deslongchamps, A. Loiseleur, 121, 127
Diehl, K., 217
Diodorus, 47, 59
Dodge, 27, 206
Döllinger, 32, 58, 60
Dorn, Hanns, 170, 202
Dumont d'Urville, 36

Egerton, 91
Ehrenfels, Christian v., 183
Eliot, George, 96, 97
Ellis, Havelock, 41, 52, 90, 91, 93, 97, 133
Ellis, William, 37, 199
Eschenbach, Wolfram v., 62
Euripides, 74

Ey, Louise, 94
Eyre, 49

Falke, Jakob, 61
Fichte, 102, 231
Finck, 48, 49, 51, 61, 63, 77, 95, 97, 107
Finsch, 105
Forel, 110, 132, 176
Francis, St., 104
Franklin, Alfred, 70
Frazer, 46, 52, 133
Frenssen, Gustav, 102
Freycinet, 45
Freytag, Gustav, 65
Fritsch, Gustav, 50, 105, 147
Fuchs, Eduard, 82, 83, 229
Furth, Henriette, 100, 174, 201
Fustel de Coulanges, 116

Galton, 180
Gaya, de, 122
Gierke, 57
Giraud-Teulon, 31, 59
Gnauck-Kuhne, Elisabeth, 202
Godwin, William, 109
Goethe, 79
Goldmann, Emil, 46
Goldschied, Rudolf, 231
Goncourt, E. and J. de, 208
Greffrath, B. H., 152
Grimm, Jakob, 32, 57, 116, 121, 128
Grosse, Ernst, 50, 132, 146, 151, 153, 154, 192, 229
Gunther, Reinhardt, 91

Hahn, Eduard, 33, 160
Hartland, 46, 133
Hartmann, Eduard v., 38, 69
Hawkesworth, 38
Haxthausen, 45
Haydn, 89, 218
Hearne, Samuel, 112
Hecquard, H., 31
Hegel, 220–222
Hellwald, 35, 61, 62, 125, 132
Herodotus, 36, 58, 126
Hieronymus, St., 77
Holm, 150
Homer, 28, 55, 65, 161
Horace, 60
Hornes, 133
Hrchorowicz, 101
Hubert and Maus, 52
Humboldt, Wilhelm v., 175
Hutereau, 148

Ibn al Moghawir, 27
Ibsen, 180

Jean Paul, 109
Johnston, 148
Junker, Wilhelm, 167

Kane, Elisha, 40
Karamsin, 64
Kemmerich, Max, 70
Kempf, Rosa, 172, 203
Kern, H., 141
Key, Ellen, 80, 100, 110, 176, 184
Klaatsch, 132
Klemm, 60
Kohler, Jos., 32, 119, 132, 144
Krafft-Ebing, 216
Kraufs, Friedrich, 58, 75, 121, 236
Kriegk, 56, 57, 58, 121
Kuhlenbeck, 132
Kunze, Johann, 65, 78, 121

Lactantius, 55
Lafitau, 50
Lamprecht, 50, 97, 121, 132, 231
Lang, Andrew, 132
Latham, R. G., 44
Le Bon, 35
Lechner, 77
Lecky, 75, 76, 77
Lenclos, Ninon de, 93
Le Roy, 138, 148
Lessing, Theodor, 93
Letourneau, 176

Lewin, 101
Lichtenstein, 30
Lippert, Julius, 38, 56, 67, 105, 119, 138
Liszt, Franz v., 101
Livingstone, 34, 40
Lombroso, 74
Loskiel, 49
Loti, Pierre, 36
Lubbock (Lord Avebury), 26, 30, 46, 47, 48, 107, 119, 122, 132, 151
Luther, 32, 57, 78
Lycurgus, 31

MacDonald, 115
Man, E. H., 40, 46, 140, 142, 149, 152, 197, 207
Manes, Alfred, 179
Mantegezza, 58
Marcuse, Julian, 178
Mariner, 46
Marmontel, 208
Martial, 174
Martin, R., 52
Martius, v., 35
Maurenbrecher, Hulda, 91, 110, 185, 202
Maurer, v., 27, 57
Maus and Hubert, 52
Mayreder, Rosa, 91, 110, 116, 117
McLennan, 119, 132
Meiners, 75
Metellus, 75
Michaelis, Karoline, 231
Mill, John Stuart, 96, 110
Milton, 95
Molière, 95
Moll, 41, 55, 98
Monteiro, 49
Montesquieu, 38
Morgan, 49, 132, 133, 143, 144, 145
Mozart, 89, 218
Müller, Eugen, 96
Murner, Thomas, 27

Nansen, Frithjof, 150
Navarette, 35
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 177
Nixon, Bishop R., 120

Ortolan, 121
Ostwald, Wilhelm, 215
Ovid, 60

Passarge, 147
Paulitschke, 31
Peschel, 38, 42
Pfungst, 179
Plato, 59, 75, 91, 184
Plautus, 174
Ploss, 26, 36, 37, 38, 209
Plutarch, 31, 122
Portmann, 149
Post, 26, 28, 32, 36, 37, 44, 46, 55, 119, 122, 123, 124, 132
Powers, Stephen, 125
Prévost, Marcel, 83, 210

Racine, 95
Radbruch, 101
Ratzel, 67, 132
Reade, W. Winwood, 34, 105
Reed, A. W., 147
Rein, 35, 36
Reitzenstein, F. v., 46, 77, 116, 132, 162
Richter, 75
Rink, 50
Rivers, 132
Rossbach, 121, 127
Rousselet, 145
Rudeck, 57

Sarasin, 139, 149
Schadenberg, 147
Scherr, 65
Schiller, 102
Schirmacher, Käthe, 93
Schlegel, 231
Schmidt, E., 141
Schmidt, P. Wilhelm, 119, 137, 139, 140, 141, 146, 147

Schmidt, Richard, 61
Schneickert, 101
Schneider, Wilhelm, 38
Schoetensack, 132
Schopenhauer, 135
Schrader, 50, 78, 119
Schreiber, Adele, 94, 101, 110, 131, 178, 179, 236
Schreiner, Olive, 92
Schultz, Alwin, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62
Schultze-Grossborstel, Ernst, 169
Schurtz, K., 136
Schwalbe, 141
Schweinfurt, 40
Scott, Sir Walter, 95
Semon, Richard, 40, 70, 149
Senfft, 135
Shakespeare, 78, 86, 95
Siebold v., 35
Simon, Eugene, 128
Singh, Nihal, 165
Skeat and Blagden, 147
Smith, Robertson, 27, 52
Snow, W. Parker, 105
Somlo, Felix, 136
Sophocles, 54
Sparrman, 151
Spencer, Herbert, 26, 119, 123, 132, 146, 176, 195, 197
Spinoza, 69, 235
Starcke, 44, 68, 132
Steffen, 216
Steller, Georg Wilhelm, 33, 157, 158
Stobæus, 74
Stocker, Helene, 110, 198, 231
Stoll, Otto, 55
Stow, G. W., 147
Streubel, 96
Stuhlmann, 148
Symonds, 61

Tacitus, 50, 77
Taine, 83
Thomas, Northcote, 132
Thomasius, Chr., 136
Thomassin, Désiré, 89
Thucydides, 74
Tieck, 231
Tolstoy, 38
Turner, 197
Tylor, 119

Ujfalvy, 30

Vierkandt, Alfred, 136, 224
Virchow, 91
Virgil, 60
Voltaire, 93

Wagner, Richard, 117, 218
Wahrmund, 110, 116
Waitz-Gerland, 26, 38, 50, 120, 149
Wallace, 42
Weber, Marianne, 128, 161, 163, 165, 178, 198
Wechssler, Ed., 61
Weinhold, 27, 28, 50, 61, 62, 94, 121, 123, 128
Westermarck, 28, 35, 38, 48, 50, 52, 55, 105, 107, 119, 123, 132, 133, 199
Weule, K., 138, 141, 153
Wilken, G. A., 44, 132
Wilkes, 197
Williams, Thomas, 35, 47
Wittels, 101
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 109
Worcester, D. H., 147
Worms, Réné, 135
Wrangell, Admiral, 31
Wundt, Wilhelm, 132, 137, 142

Xenophon, 38

Zarncke, 121
Zimmern, Helene, 109
Zola, 180
Zoller, 49

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